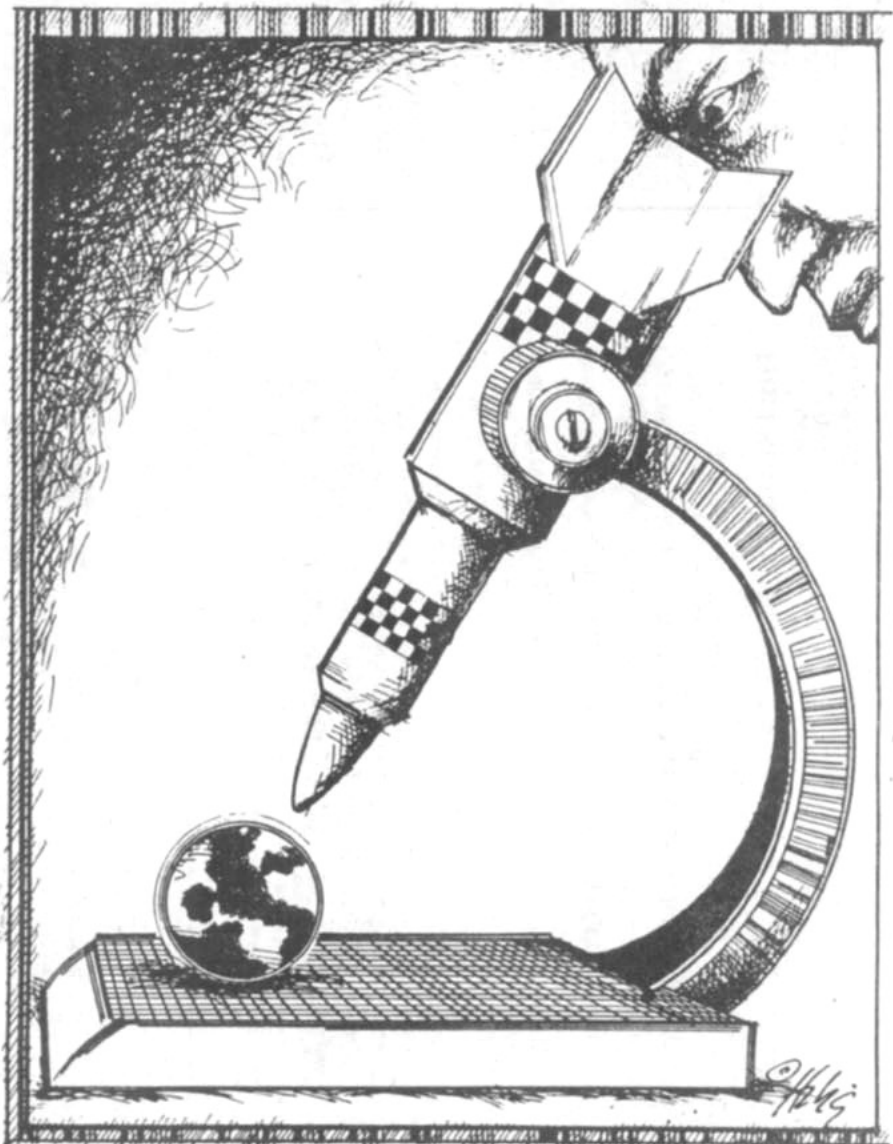


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EXPLAINING AWAY UNEMPLOYMENT

Martin Brown

Ten years ago a persistent 7.5 percent unemployment rate would have been considered a national disaster. But today it is considered at most a minor political liability. This shift reflects the popularity of some conservative economic ideas which provide a very different view of unemployment.

In the simplest terms they say some unemployment is "natural," that some people want to be unemployed—and that in any case unemployment really doesn't cost us so much after all.

In the 1940s and 1950s there was talk of "full employment" where every person who wanted work at the prevailing wage could find a job. Economists estimated this would mean three to four percent unemployment.

However, since the high inflation 1960s and 1970s some economists have directed attention toward something called the "natural-rate of unemployment." This, they say, is the lowest level of unemployment compatible with keeping inflation from increasing.

By this standard, current employment is very close to acceptable—indeed, some economists have begun to worry aloud that it is "too low" to keep inflation under control.

But this "acceptability" glosses over the fact that the difference between natural unemployment and full employment may represent as many as 4 million people out of work. Some may argue this is the necessary price for bringing inflation under control. The unemployed may ask why they must bear the burden.

A less novel but no less popular argument put forth

by the Reagan administration and many economists tells the unemployed "It's your own fault." Instead of blaming recession, discrimination, runaway plants, changing technology, etc., this view says unemployment is the result of an individual's own plans.

One way individual workers build unemployment into their plans, this theory goes, is by considering the likelihood of a layoff when they take a job—roughly, taking a higher risk of unemployment as part of a higher paying job.

Thus Martin Feldstein, until recently the President's chief economic advisor, has argued that unemployment insurance rewards people for the leisure they expect to have anyway, and by subsidizing "non-work" keeps people from taking or finding a job.

Economist Milton Friedman goes even further, blaming high unemployment itself on the minimum wage and labor unions, arguing that if wages were lower there would be more jobs.

With such arguments in mind, the Reagan administration labor department argued successfully that extended unemployment insurance benefits should be sharply reduced. Basically they held that unemployment insurance makes it harder for workers to adjust to changing conditions.

By cutting benefits and redefining "suitable employment" as work paying much less than a person's last job, the department predicted unemployed workers would move more quickly into lower paying work and "both workers and the economy will benefit from the decrease from the unproductive period of unemployment."

But this did not appear to happen. Instead, the

average duration of unemployment in 1983 was 20 weeks, the longest in post-war history. The reason is not hard to find—there were more people looking for work than there were jobs.

Finally, some economists argue that unemployment—"natural" or not, voluntary or not—costs the individual and society much less than we think. They point out that unemployment is always higher among minorities, youth and women, people who receive relatively low wages.

These low wages reflect low productivity says economist George Perry of the Brookings Institution, so the actual percentage of production lost is much less than the percentage of workers unemployed. Therefore, as more of these low wage groups enter the labor force, we can be less concerned about unemployment and more concerned about inflation.

Other economists carry this to the personal level saying that the first to choose unemployment are those who find it relatively more rewarding compared to work. They speak of unemployment as a time to search for a better job, take care of personal affairs, or just make "a massive investment in leisure," useful activities which compensate for the personal cost of unemployment.

Not all economists accept these theories which minimize the social cost and personal suffering of unemployment. Robert Solow, one time president of the American Economic Association, has said, "It is hardly plausible on the face of it that people who give the vague impression of being unemployed are actually engaged in voluntary leisure."

Nevertheless these ideas have become widely accepted. Clair Brown, a labor economist at the

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Martin Brown teaches economics at California State University at Chico.



THE WEATHER REPORT



THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT

New Scientist reports that British researchers believe that the greenhouse effect will produce both hotter summers and colder winters, just like we've had the last few years. The build-up of carbon monoxide in the atmosphere creates permanent high pressure systems that produce the effect. The result will be higher home energy costs and with all that extra fuel probably making the greenhouse effect worse.

AGRIBUSINESS MARCHES ON

Fourteen percent of American farms earn more than \$100,000 a year, but these farms represent more than a half of the farm acreage in the country according to an Agriculture Department study. Meanwhile, America has lost nearly 100,000 of its 2.3 million farms since 1979.

WEICKER JOINS PEACE FUND SUPPORTERS

Senator Lowell Weicker, Republican of Connecticut, has joined Senators Mark Hatfield and Charles Mathias in sponsoring a world peace tax fund bill. This bill would allow people to channel their taxes into non-military spending. Hatfield has introduced the bill every year since 1977. He comments "Every hour the world spends more than \$30 million to prepare for and engage it in war. World military expenditures in two weeks could provide food, clothing and housing for all poor men, women and children around the globe."

NO GREEN FOR BRITISH ECOLOGY PARTY

The British Ecology Party has voted down a proposal to change its name to the Greens. Opponents of the change feared the name might identify the party with the Irish nationalists or make it seem amateurish. The recently formed Interregional Committees of Correspondence in the US decided not to use the term Green either, leaving it to local groups to decide whether it was a good phrase for themselves. Greens have won seats in the legislatures of West Germany, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

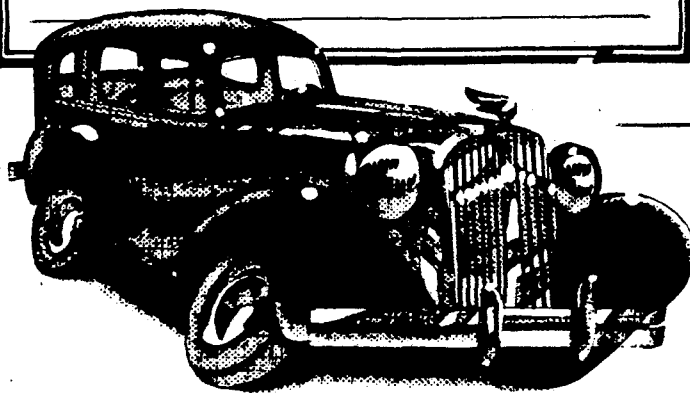
ACLU TO AVOID SUPREME COURT

In a recent fund-raising letter, ACLU director Ira Glasser said that his organization would concentrate its efforts in state courts and legislatures and in administrative agencies. Said Glasser, "Once we could count on the Supreme Court as an ally *** but no more." He added that the new strategy will require more lawyers and more money.

EMPLOYEE OWNERSHIP LOOKS GOOD

A survey by the National Center for Employee Ownership has found that 13 firms in which workers own

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10% of more of the stock outperformed traditionally-owned competitors. Further, their stock was undervalued. Since 1974, these thirteen companies had better sales growth than 71% of their competitors, better operating margins than 63% and better average return on equity than 69%.

ABBIE HOFFMAN, TRAVEL AGENT

Abbie Hoffman is planning a week-long trip to Nicaragua. He writes that "we have received government assurances of cooperation and are working with the travel agency most familiar with Central America to develop a well-planned itinerary. Accompanying our group of no more than 60 people will be experienced bilingual organizers. The trip, December 28-January 4, will cost \$795 and more information can be obtained by writing Abbie Hoffman, PO Box 1816, Murray Hill Station, NYC NY 10156.

I COLLECT UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE and I dare you to offer me a job!

Since 1966, I have been on unemployment insurance (UI) 9 times, and have exhausted 8 claims. I'm now drawing my 9th round of benefits. I can exist on my UI (with extensions) until at least June 1, 1985.

I like UI so much that I wrote *How to Collect Unemployment Benefits: Complete Information for All 50 States*, which was published by Schocken Books in 1975 and by Prentice Hall in 1983. *Library Journal* named the first edition, "One of the best business books of the year."

Although I enjoy staying up late at night and sleeping until 1 p.m., I want to go back to work. My qualifications include an M.A. in sociology from New York University. I type 65 wpm and would enjoy a word processing job.

\$4,500 REWARD FOR A JOB.

I am a non-violent handicapped person who suffers from schizophrenia. Because I am handicapped, any employer in private industry who hires me is eligible for a Targeted Job Tax Credit of \$3,000 on my first \$6,000 salary the first year I am employed, and \$1,500 on my next \$3,000 the second year I am employed. In other words, for every hour I work for you, you receive \$1.44, then 72¢, in tax write-offs.

\$100 REWARD FOR A JOB.

If you don't hire me, but you refer me to the person who does hire me, I will pay you \$100.

RESTRICTIONS.

I can only work for a male supervisor (female work leader OK), preferably in Washington, D.C. I don't drive. I will not work "on speculation," piecework, or at a temporary job, unless the temporary job comes with full medical coverage. I will not work at home. No employment agencies need apply.

If you think you qualify, please reply. Raymond Avrutis, 667-6228 (answering machine). 1715 P St., N.W., #404, Washington, D.C. 20036. An equal opportunity employee.

GOP Changes Mind on Women

The Republican Party may have deserted the Equal Rights Amendment in 1980, but up until the last decade, Ronald Reagan's party was far ahead of the Democrats in supporting women's rights.

That message comes not from a die-hard fan of the Republican Party, but from Jo Freeman, a former "free speech movement" activist who has written a book on women in US political parties.

Freeman points out that a Republican-controlled Congress voted for women's suffrage in 1919 and were in power in 29 of the 36 states that voted to ratify the suffrage proposal.

As for the ERA, a Republican senator first introduced that proposal in Congress. And the GOP added the ERA to its party platform four years before the Democrats and held onto it four years past the Democrats. Both parties ditched the amendment from their platforms in the '60s, but revived it in 1972. Originally, says Freeman, "The Democrats weren't anti-feminist. But they were anti-equal rights."

What caused the Republicans to change their tune and drop the Equal Rights Amendment from their platform? According to Freeman, it was activist Phyllis Schlafly's opposition to the ERA.

Ike and Reagan

"Someday there is going to be a man sitting in my present chair who has not been raised in the military services and who will have little understanding of where slashes in their estimates can be made with little or no damage. If that should happen while we still have the state of tension that now exists in the world, I shudder to think of what could happen in this country."

Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote these words from the Oval Office in 1956.

In the November issue of *Mother Jones* magazine, Stephen E. Ambrose contrasts Eisenhower's military policy with that of President Reagan. "In Ronald Reagan," says Ambrose, "Eisenhower's fear has

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QUERIES FOR A NEW MOVEMENT

Last summer a group of activists met in Minneapolis to lay the groundwork for a Green-oriented movement in this country. As part of their effort, they drew up a list of values and questions — or what the Quakers call queries. The group felt that the queries listed below were not being addressed adequately by either the right or the left. The group is calling itself, for the interim, The Committees of Correspondence, which was the name for grassroots political networks in the American Revolutionary period and several times since then. If you wish information on the activities in your area related to these values you can write the Committees of Correspondence, PO Box 14748, Minneapolis, Minn. 55414.

ECOLOGICAL WISDOM

How can we operate human societies with the understanding that we are part of nature, not on top of it? How can we live within the ecological and resource limits of the planet, applying our technological knowledge to the challenge of an energy-efficient economy? How can we build a better relationship between cities and countryside? How can we protect all living things from unnecessary harm? How can we promote sustainable agriculture? How can we further biocentric wisdom in all spheres of life?

DECENTRALIZATION

How can we empower people, institutions, communities, and regions to do more for themselves? How can we encourage the flourishing of regionally-based culture rather than a dominant monoculture? How can we have a decentralized, democratic society with our political, economic, and social institutions locating power on the smallest scale (closest to home) that is efficient and practical? How can we redesign our institutions so that fewer decisions and less regulation over money are granted as one moves from the community toward the national level? How can we reconcile the need for community and regional control with the need for appropriate centralized control in certain matters?

GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY

How can we develop a system that allows and encourages people to participate in the decisions that affect their lives? How can we ensure that representatives will be fully accountable to the people who elected them? How can we develop planning mechanisms that would allow citizens to develop and implement their own preferences for policies and spending priorities? How can we encourage and assist the "mediating institutions" -- family, neighborhood organization, church group, voluntary association, ethnic club -- recover some of the functions now performed by government? How can we relearn the best insights from American traditions of civic vitality, voluntary action, and community responsibility?

COOPERATIVE ECONOMICS

How can we redesign our work structures to encourage employee ownership and workplace democracy? How can we develop new economic institutions that will allow us to use our new technologies in ways that are humane, freeing, and ecological? How can we establish some form of basic economic security, open to all? How can we move beyond the narrow "job ethic" to new definitions of "work," "jobs," and "income" that reflect the changing economy? How can we restructure our patterns of income distribution to reflect the wealth created by those outside the formal, monetary economy: those who take responsibility for parenting, housekeeping, home gardens, community volunteer work, etc.? How can we restrict the size and concentrated power of corporations without punishing them for superior efficiency or technological innovation?

GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY

How can we be of genuine assistance to grassroots groups in the Third World? What can we learn from such groups? How can we help other countries make the transition to self-sufficiency in food and other basic necessities? How can we cut our defense budget while maintaining an adequate defense and a non-violent global influence that is sufficient to promote these ten "Green" values? How can we reshape world order without creating just another enormous nation-state?

INCLUSIVENESS

How can we assist disadvantaged people to empower themselves, rather than render them ever more dependent on the government? How can those of us who are more privileged help them to become more self-reliant? How can we respect cultural, ethnic, racial, sexual, religious and spiritual diversity without turning

the United States into an "anything goes" society? While honoring diversity, how can we find common ground in our country's finest shared ideals: the dignity of the individual, democratic participation, and liberty and justice for all?

FEMINIST VALUES

How can we replace the cultural ethics of dominance and control with more cooperative ways of interacting? How can we encourage people to care about persons outside their own group? How can we promote the building of respectful, positive, and responsible relationships across the lines of gender and other divisions? How can we encourage a rich, diverse political culture that respects feelings as well as rationalist approaches? How can we proceed with as much respect for the means as the end (the process as much as the products of our efforts)? How can we learn to respect the contemplative, inner part of life as much as the outer activities?

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

How can we encourage people to commit themselves to lifestyles that promote their own health? How can we have a community-controlled education system that effectively teaches our children academic skills, ecological wisdom, social responsibility, and personal growth? How can we resolve interpersonal and inter-group conflicts without just turning them over to lawyers and judges? How can we take responsibility for reducing the crime rate in our neighborhoods? How can we encourage such values as simplicity in moderation?

NONVIOLENCE

How can we, as a society, develop effective alternatives to our current patterns of violence, at all levels, from the family and the street to nations and the world? How can we eliminate nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth without being naive about the intentions of other governments? How can we most constructively use non-violent methods to oppose practices and policies with which we disagree and in the process reduce the atmosphere of polarization and selfishness that is itself a source of violence?

FUTURE FOCUS

How can we induce people and institutions to think in terms of the long-range future, and not just in terms of their short-range selfish interest? How can we encourage people to develop their own visions of the future and move more effectively toward them? How can we judge whether new technologies are socially useful -- and use those judgments to shape our society? How can we induce our government and other institutions to practice fiscal responsibility? How can we make the quality of life, rather than open-ended economic growth, the focus of future thinking?

ASSESSING THE FREEZE

Richard Healey

Many commentators have suggested that the Freeze peaked in 1982 and that this year it has already disappeared. I believe that on the contrary the freeze movement has had its greatest success in 1984, though in ways which are easy to ignore. Although the freeze movement didn't announce that one of its goals was to change Ronald Reagan's pronouncements about arms control, he is now on the defensive. That reflects a dramatic shift in U.S. politics of disarmament and nuclear war in the last four years, a shift for which the freeze movement can take the credit.

Moreover, this shift underlies the more tangible victories of the freeze movement in 1984. In Congress, the administration has suffered an unprecedented series of rebuffs and defeats on arms control measures. Although the National Freeze Campaign did not work actively on each of those measures, the freeze concept galvanized millions of people to work on a wide variety of disarmament projects including these congressional fights. In many congressional districts it has been freeze groups that led the campaigns on the MX, nerve gas, or sea-launched cruise missiles.

True, we have not gotten the Freeze Resolution passed in Congress, and the "Quick Freeze Resolution" that the Freeze Campaign focused on this year has been greeted unenthusiastically in Congress and even by other disarmament organizations. Nor has the Freeze Campaign or Freeze Vote '84 been as visible as we would wish. Our disappointment about these things, however, should not stop us from recognizing how much the freeze movement has done.

Perhaps the single most significant accomplishment of the

freeze movement in 1984 has taken place within the Democratic Party. At its convention the Democrats voted for a peace plank in its platform that essentially adopts the ten points put forward by a consortium of over thirty peace groups. Mondale and Ferraro are running on the freeze and no aid to the contras, with the blessing of the leadership of the AFL-CIO. Try to imagine a comparable plank being adopted in 1972 or 1980 with the agreement of the major leaders of the Democratic Party. It couldn't have happened without four years of freeze activities.

This adoption by the Democrats does not mean that we can now take a break while they carry on the fight for disarmament. It does mean that the political arena in which the struggle for disarmament is carried on now looks very different, with previous antagonists neutralized or even made into potential allies. Most previous peace movements in the United States have been much less successful at working in the political arena. They usually acted as more marginal or oppositional pressure groups and they were unable to find the allies, resources, or institutional strength to build on what victories they did achieve.

People in the peace movement are frustrated that after four years we haven't accomplished more. Although there is without question a place for direct action tactics next year, they are not the answer to those frustrations. It is our efforts in the political arena that need to be intensified. No matter who is president in 1985, we need to develop more legislation at the state and local level, not just in Congress. We need to further develop our ability to work in elections, and that means starting in 1985 for the 1986 elections.

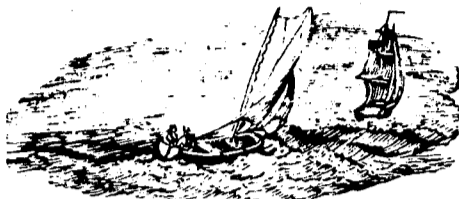
Support for the freeze is extraordinarily broad; it is also shallow. Often support for the freeze is another way of opposing nuclear war, and who doesn't oppose nuclear war? The freeze should remain at the center of our disarmament work, but support for it needs to go deeper. That means a deeper understanding of what ending the arms race means, and understanding the connections between nuclear war and U.S./Soviet intervention in third world countries. If Reagan is re-elected, it means talking about the comprehensive freeze but

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Richard Healey is director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

TOPICS

Sam Smith



The new jingoism

We have heard in the past few months an excessive amount about patriotism. The bull market for the phrase began when it became clear that America was going to do extremely well in the Olympics, received a new boost at both political conventions and caused a clear view of the presidential candidates to be regularly obscured by waving flags that turned rallies into tri-colored wheat fields.

Patriotism runs second only to God as the most consistently abused philosophical concept. Lately it has appeared less a last refuge for scoundrels than a first sales tool for promoters ranging from presidents to fast food corporations.

Those who were once honored as American patriots would be stunned if they could return and find that patriotism had simply become another consumer activity. How much easier it would have been for Patrick Henry and Paul Revere if they could have displayed their loyalty to their land through the proper degree of enthusiasm for the first American team in the trans-Atlantic whist tournament.

In fact, little that occurred at Los Angeles had anything remotely to do with patriotism. It was a massive, and occasionally frightening, display, of national chauvinism, but that is quite another thing. At times the scene — with the neo-imperial stage setting and thousands of precisely choreographed dancers, reminded one of nothing so much as films of Nazi mass rallies.

Fortunately, for the most part, the athletes rose above the chauvinism of the event and, in the end, will be remembered for their excellence rather than the hokey nationalistic environment in which they had to demonstrate it.

Not surprisingly, the presidential campaign was similarly wrapped in nationalistic gimmicks and rhetoric. Not surprising, that is, because the current mediameister of politics gained at least some of his understanding of patriotism by making propaganda films during World War II to inspire those who were about to die in it. Several times. I have expected the president to burst out with some rallying cry like, "Loose lips sink ships!" — forgetting for the moment that he was running a real country and not back on the set.

The Democrats for their part, and as in so many aspects of the campaign, found themselves playing catch-up ball on the patriotism issue, trying to out-jingo the GOP and making sure everyone saw that they too knew how to wave an American flag.

There was, to be sure, nothing new about all this, despite the president's babbling about "the new patriotism." Patriotism has been the artificial additive of American politics from the start. And nothing Reagan said could match the vehemence of his predecessor Theodore Roosevelt who once divided pacifists into two groups this way:

The parlor pacifist, the white-handed or sissy type of pacifist, represents decadence, represents the rotting out of the virile virtues among people who typify the unlovely, senile side of

civilization. The rough-neck pacifist, on the contrary, is a mere belated savage who has not been educated to the virtues of national patriotism.

Still, I could not listen for long to the sort of national boosterism to which we have been subjected in recent months without wondering how the same word could be used to describe the president's puerile philosophy on the one hand and, on the other, the actions of those, say, who during the Battle of Britain or Iwo Jima died or might have died on their country's behalf. It appears, to put it mildly, to degrade the actions of the latter and reduces patriotism, as Reagan has tried to do with religion, to the level of a bumper sticker.

Then, too, there is the question raised in 1799 by G. C. Lichtenberg: "I would give something to know for whose sake precisely those deeds were really done which report says were done for the fatherland." The answer is clear enough in the case of the Battle of Britain but remains unanswered for Vietnam and Granada. The "new patriotism" is evident enough on the editorial pages; it is less obvious in the files of the Selective Service where non-compliance with draft registration (including and, in some cases, especially in communities with large military installations) suggests something less than great commitment to the patriotic ideal.



Ronald Reagan would have us believe that he has revived patriotic fervor in this country. And there is plenty of superficial evidence to support this contention. Still, it is possible that a country as large as ours can be moving in several directions at once and that, in fact, appears to be what is happening.

Among older Americans, the traditional patriotic ideal clearly holds. But among younger Americans this is not necessarily so. One might divide this group into three rough classes: the gung-ho who would volunteer for an invasion of Nova Scotia if it were requested by proper authority; those whose patriotism would cease when its function was directed from being a spectator to actual performance; and those who find it irrelevant or in conflict with other loyalties.

Without attempting to size these groups, it is apparent that they exist. The lack of a draft is perhaps the clearest sign that many Americans have placed limits on their patriotic endeavor, just as Bismarck once refused German champagne with the comment that "my patriotism stops short of my stomach."

Further, periodic concerns about the reaction of black troops in a conflict in the Middle East or Africa has, from some reports, put a damper on excessive aspirations in these quarters.

Rather than there being a new patriotism, it may be closer to the truth to suggest that the old patriotism is undergoing significant change. Patriotism rides shotgun with nationalism. And if the character of nationalism is changing, it is inevitable that our understanding of patriotism change with it.

Nationalism is, by historical norms, of fairly recent vintage. On the surface, judging from the growth of membership in the United Nations and the number of teams in the Olympics, it is still far from having run its course in the world.

At the same time, it no longer exists by itself nor does it in many instances even predominate. For simultaneous with the growth in raw numbers of nations has been an explosion of what might be called crypto-countries. These crypto-countries are institutions that share many of the characteristics of nations, are in some cases economically larger units than many countries, conduct foreign policy, control explicit countries as surely as if they were a real nation and only lack diplomatic status because the phylogenetic chart of nationhood was designed before they existed. Their main difference with normal countries is that they are extremely small in population, lack land and, mercifully, in most cases do not have a military to support their aims.

These institutions range from the United Nations to IBM, the Bechtel Corporation to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund to the European Common Market.

Without a large population to support, land to defend, and a military to support, they can be even more effective economic units than many countries. Their power cuts across national boundaries and thus, like only a few of the largest nations, can enjoy wide spheres of influence if not dominant control. It is true that there is precedent in the past such as the British East India Company and United Fruit but the explosion of extra-territorial governments, whether they be called a corporation or an international organization, has become so dramatic that it shakes the foundations of the nationalistic myth.

As a subset of these extra-territorial governments one finds those that represent a reversal of priorities: instead of exercising economic power without a military they exercise military power without an economy, NATO being perhaps the prime example.

It is interesting to note that the same phenomenon occurs within the US at the regional and local level. Not only are corporations and trade associations in many instances more powerful than any aggregation of ordinary human citizens, but states and cities have delegated power to a large number of bodies such as water districts, transit authorities and the like, that function as crypto-governments in our midst. Typically non-democratic in structure they may even have the ultimate characteristic of government — the power to tax.

Finally, there has been an equally dramatic growth in fealty to trans-governmental movements and ideas. Just as the Catholic church has controlled or moved governments throughout the centuries, so Moslems and Jews are making demands and placing limits on even the two greatest powers with only a few atom bombs amongst them. Catholicism, no longer homogenous, remains a crypto-government demonstrating its power in a variety of ways ranging from the liberation theology of Latin America to the manipulation of the American presidential campaign towards the abortion issue to the remarkably intervention in Poland.

While the religious trans-governments may be the most dramatic they are far from alone. Consider the economic and political power of the automotive and oil industry — partially in competition with itself to be sure but very much also a de facto extra-territorial government. Or the crypto-government of the mass media. If power is to your taste, would you rather be the monarch of Belgium or the president of CBS? Then, too, almost every issue has a claim on the devotion and practice of its adherents as does every ethnic group whatever its member's citizenship papers say. Patriotic Americans do not refer to each other as brothers and sisters because of their Americanism. But American blacks and African blacks do.

Deep ecologists do not believe in national boundaries because nature doesn't. Feminists find more in common with like-minded women anywhere than they may with their own husbands. And so forth.

In short, being a nation doesn't mean as much as it once did. It is simply not the overwhelmingly important focus of self and group definition. We would all probably

be a lot happier, safer and wiser if we would start to recognize this fact.

One can speculate on the causes of the decline of nationhood. My own guess is that, over the long run, traditional nationhood would be impossible to sustain if there were no interference other than a mass media and mass marketing. The mere existence of nuclear weaponry has tended to make national boundaries seem silly. But no matter what the causes, the effect remains and it is profound and plays havoc not only with the concepts of nationhood under which we were raised but of patriotism as well.

The globalism of the nuclear bomb excepted, these changes have not been unsalutary. Strange as it seems, America's greatest recent contribution to world peace is probably the multinational corporation. While defense production remains a major necessity for these large corporations, war no longer is. Despite the myriad deleterious effects of these institutions the devil must be given its due: they have restrained the militaristic instincts of their clients around the world, not out of any altruism, but simply because it's bad for business.

But we still talk about nations as though we were following the carriage in Sarajevo or drinking port with Thomas Jefferson. And we continue to expect, and are expected to give, a primary loyalty to an institution that for a growing number of people in the world simply isn't that important.

Stunning as the concept may appear, we must begin to accept the fact that nationhood (and, by consequence, traditional patriotism) is fading and that the way we learned it may one day seem as antiquated as such concepts as feudalism and primogeniture.

This does not mean that loyalty to one's country will, or need, disappear. It is simply that the individual will adopt a more complex, layered and realistic system of loyalties and that there will be a recognition of the potential and, indeed, the probability of conflict between these loyalties.

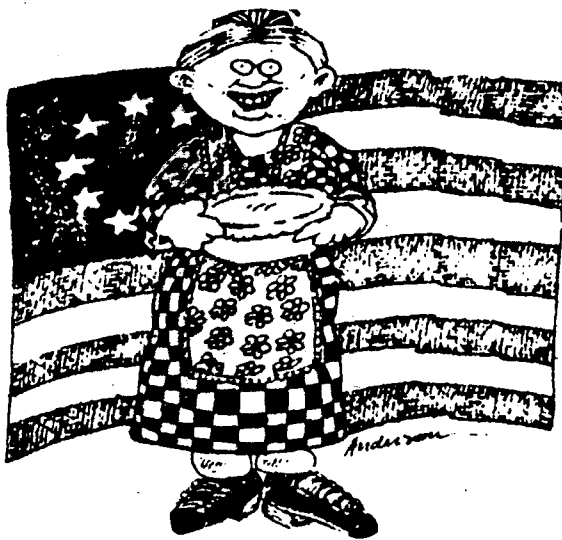


This system will include concentric circles of loyalties beginning with the family and extending out to community, city, state, nation and world. But it will also include the nationhood of one's religion (e.g. the "Nation of Islam") and the nationhood of one's natural environment and the nationhood of shared culture or beliefs. In such a system, a patriotic rally might require a dozen different flags for each attendee because there are too many things that bind us together other than our Americanism.

To recognize this does not make us less an American. In fact, it offers new reason for a bit of pride of our own land because it has been uniquely hospitable to the variety of human experience, background and belief. It is the land of the Indians who understood better than most current government officials the environment's transcendence over lines drawn by mere humans. It is the country which was founded on the premise that each individual had the right to choose their own loyalties. For all this and more we can be proud and loyal without forgetting our loyalty to the larger and smaller worlds around us.

For a nation moving slowly towards such a wiser and safer concept of loyalty, the antics of the Wizard of Ooze represent an unfortunate obstacle. But it is sometimes the case that at moments of critical cultural change, there is a flash of neo-traditionalism, the hand reaching out one last time for the lifeboat of the past. The cargo cult in the South Pacific and the long-nosed god complex and totem poles of the American Indians were manifestations of a similar sort. Ronald Reagan, history suggests, represents not a new wave but a final refusal to move into a new future.

It is hard to give up the simplistic pleasures of a concept of natinalism and patriotism that flowered in a non-nuclear, non-technological, non-communicating, non-polluting world. But things have changed. And not even Ronald Reagan, hand over heart, eyes toward the sky, that plastic smile on the verge of tears that appears permanently fixed on his face, can change that.



Apple Pie

Harvard has begun covering the up-rights of its football goalposts with STP, and other schools may follow suit. The object: to prevent the fans from getting a decent grip and pulling the posts down. The university decided to grease the goalposts after a falling beam seriously injured a student last year.

One of Reagan's direct-mail campaigns asked for a mailed reply in order to catch any pro-Mondale letter carriers who might deliberately be dumping Republican mail. The postal workers' union began talking about a law suit, saying that such sabotage would violate their own traditions as well as the criminal code. Said a representative: "We're used to delivering junk mail. We'll deliver Reagan's junk as well as anyone else's."

Diana McCellan of the Washington Times reports that Georgetown perfumeries were running low on scent before the election. The shops weren't ordering until after the vote came in because, as one shop put it, "Republicans and Democrats smell different."

We believe it was Adlai Stevenson who once described Richard Nixon as someone who would cut down a redwood tree, then stand on the stump and make a speech about conservation. Someone else described a suburban development as a place where they cut down all the trees, replace them with houses and call it "Camelot Forest." Well, life is imitating art again. In Santa Rosa California, the Sierra Club is objecting to the plan of a new condo project to name its streets after famous environmentalists like Anselm Adams and Rachel Carson. Some one hundred redwood trees had to be cut down to make way for the project.

You can now buy pet food seasoning in seven different flavors. Says Sadie's Pet Food Seasoning in Spokane, Washington, "it fills the owners' psychological need to show the pet they love it."

For \$2.25 million, Sakowitz in Houston

will hire Mexican stonecutters to build an exact replica of the Trevi Fountain in your backyard. It'll take three years for delivery and installation. You can also charter a luxury liner for a ten-week cruise to the Orient for you and a hundred of your closest friends. Cost: \$5.3 million.

Ohio Congressman Douglas Applegate Applegate claims that imports of Nicaraguan bananas have increased six-fold even as the Reagan administration funds an armed rebellion against the government there. What's worse, importing the bananas is a close pal of presidential assistant Michael Deaver.

The Manhattan retail chain known as The 88 Cents Shop is changing its name again. It used to be called The 66 Cents Shop. This month it will start calling itself The 99 Cents Shop.

A 16-year-old Michigan boy wrote to the Soviet mission to the United Nations to ask for information for a class project. He expected to get travel guides, propaganda—the usual stuff. Instead, he got microfilmed specifications for American tanks. The FBI is investigating how and why Pentagon photographs got into the package, but the Russians say it's all a mystery to them. Says a representative: "We never send microfilm."

A Berkeley, California, woman claims local laundries charge more to clean a woman's shirt than a man's, even when the only difference between the two is what side the buttons are on. The woman's lawyer is pressing a suit for millions of dollars in damages. Says she: "We want to take the laundries to the cleaners."

Olympic gold medalist Steve Hegg has the distinction of winning the same race twice. The first time was in Los Angeles, when he beat all comers in the 4000 meter bicycle race. The second time: in Trexlertown, Pennsylvania, when Hegg stopped by the local McDonald's and entered the "When the US Wins, You Win" contest. The race on his game card was . . . his own event. This time, his prize was a Big Mac and a Coke. Says Hegg: "I'll bet it gets me more publicity than winning the gold."

Now there's a telephone answering machine for your car phone. For \$3500, you can get a machine that records messages and phone numbers and displays them on a dashboard screen. It'll even honk the horn and flash the headlights to let you know someone called while you were away.

Most college football coaches want players who have size, speed and strength. But at Memphis State, the coach wants born-again Christians. The local American Civil Liberties Union is accusing head coach Rey Dempsey of imposing his fundamentalist beliefs on the team. The ACLU claims Dempsey uses faith healing to treat injuries and forces players to attend mandatory prayer sessions. Such charges wouldn't raise many eyebrows at Oral Roberts or BYU, but Memphis State is supported by taxpayer dollars. And the ACLU claims the coach is violating the constitutional separation between church and state. The university says the charges are unfounded, but one ACLU attorney says: "If they don't pray, they don't play."

What happens to your Cabbage Patch doll when it bites the dust? A San Francisco woman found out when she sent a broken doll back to the manufacturer. She expected a replacement. What she got instead was . . . a death certificate and a letter of condolence.

Sociologist James Skipper says the current shortage of nicknames in major-league baseball makes it hard for fans to identify with their heroes. Skipper says nicknames have been in decline since the First World War. Team for team, there are now only one-fifteenth as many players with colorful monickers like "Goose" and "Sparky."

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CHUCK STONE

Punchy endorsements

We're voting for the man," exults a "separate but equal" billboard in the black community, featuring President Reagan landing a simulated punch to Muhammad Ali's jaw while Joe Frazier and Floyd Patterson look on in smiling catatonia.

How deliciously appropriate:

A president, staggering into his dotage, being endorsed by three ex-pugs linked exclusively by skin color and the number of blows their brains have absorbed.

This union of three has-beens with a doddering old man makes sense.

Boxing is one gladiator's systematic annihilation of another and politics is a variation on that mayhem. "In war, you can only be killed once," observed Winston Churchill. "In politics many times."

Reagan should know.

These days, he's looking like the lead role in "The Mummy" and sounding like he's waiting for Godot.

But all the endorsements and all the handkerchief heads can't put Humpty Dumpty back together again.

I don't object to the substance of what Ali, Frazier and Patterson have done.

Their Reagan endorsement is a felicitous exercise of civic responsibility, even if grievously at cross purposes with what Alex Haley calls "the core experience" of black aspirations.

Pursuing that logic, I don't wish to imply that black Republicans are out of step with massive black Democratic fidelities.

Black Republicans have history long and strong. Many Reagan supporters are articulate and politically sagacious.

Ali, Frazier and Patterson are neither.

Entertainers and stars individually endorse, campaign and raise money for candidates.

But athletes tend to shun political involvement. And for good reason.

In professional sports passions run high and intense. An athlete doesn't need the extra baggage of a potentially controversial endorsement, especially if he or she is not dispatching opponents with the usual alacrity.

Can't you hear the catcalls?

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EUGENE MCCARTHY

Political nicknames

The two presidential candidates on the Republican ticket appear to be running with their given-first-names intact. President Reagan, as a candidate in 1980 did use the familiar form "Ronnie" some, but seems to have chosen the more dignified "Ronald" in running as an incumbent.

George Bush has not used a familiar or diminutive form of George. "Georgie," in any case, would probably be rejected by public relations experts, as weak or unfamiliar, even as feminine.

Geraldine Ferraro is occasionally called "Gerry" by the media and that name shows up on placards at Democratic rallies. She is most often, however, called "Geraldine" in press reports. More attention has been given to surnames in her case.

THE NAME used to identify, or characterize, the Democratic presidential candi-

date has, it seems, received more and more attention as the campaign has gone on. One of the rallying cries at the Democratic convention was, "We want Fritz." In the early primaries the nickname could not be used freely because there was a second Democratic candidate who was better known as "Fritz," than was Walter Mondale. That candidate was Ernest Hollings.

With Hollings out of the race, "Fritz" could be singularly claimed. Recently I received a letter over the signature of candidate Mondale's wife Joan asking for a campaign contribution. The substance of the appeal was pretty much the standard material of campaign appeals, with two exceptions. First, it made a special point of how the campaign had drawn the Mondale family closer together, a development which Joan seemed to think was worthy of consideration, and

second, it was marked by repeated references to the Presidential candidate as "Fritz," 10 times in three pages of text.

Walter Mondale, evidently, has been "Fritz" to his family and to his close friends for a long time and understandably could prefer that name when among intimate associates to say "Wally" or even "Walt."

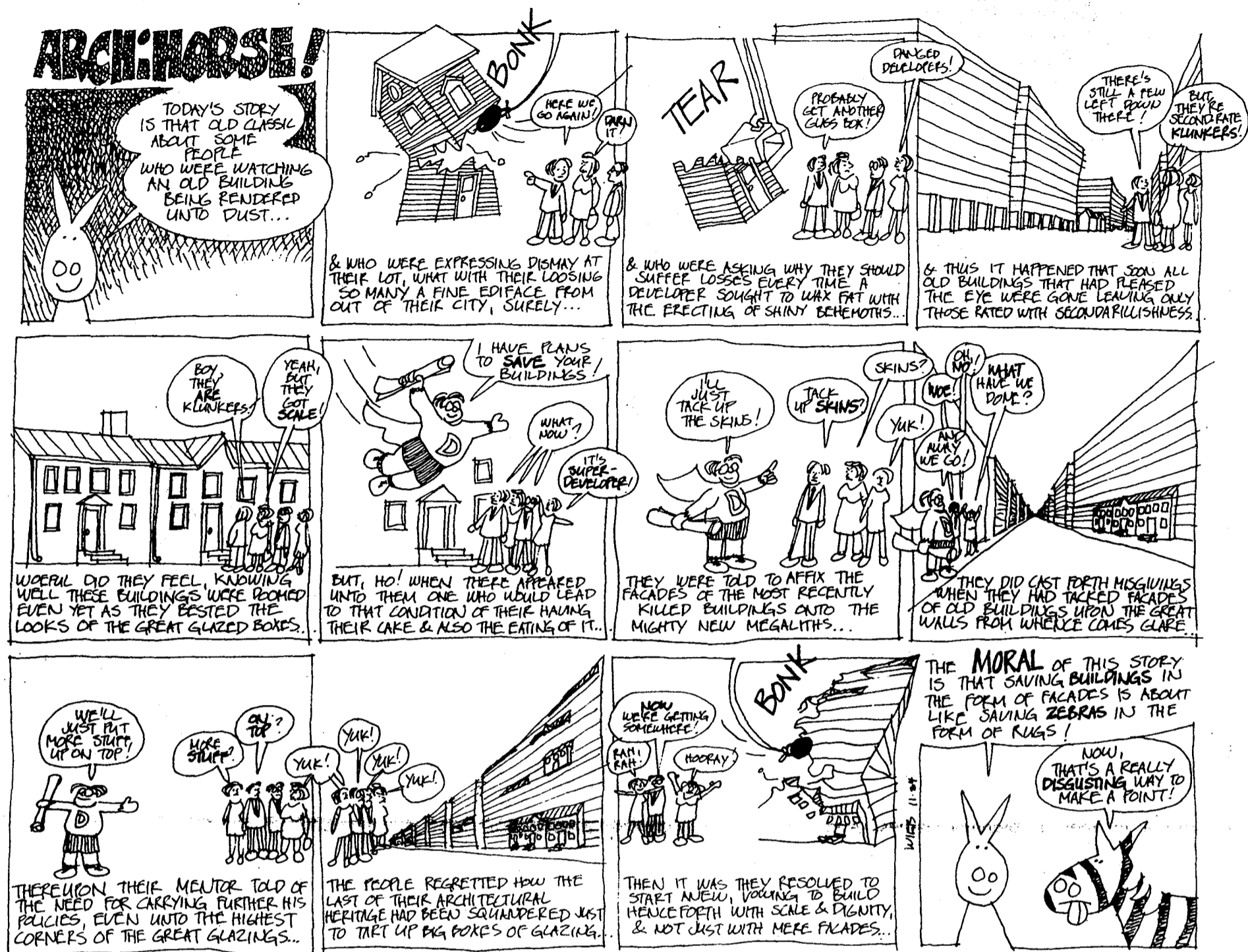
FOR PUBLIC use, I have thought "Walter" or "Walt" preferable. The Walters and Walts I have known in history, literature, and in real life have generally been solid, reliable types. For example, Walt Whitman, Walter Johnson,

Walter Kregel, Walter Cronkite, Walter Scott, Walter von der Vogelweide.

Walter, also lends itself to alliterative slogans, better than Fritz, which is essentially limited to a phrase like "Fighting Fritz," whereas Walter fits easily into statements such as "We want Walter," or "Win with Walter," or even "Warlike Walter," to go with the recent trend in Mondale's rhetoric toward stronger, harsher, and more militant words such as "savage," "trash," "assault," "clobber," "sock it to them," and "kill."

From the defensive point of view, the use of Walter, or a variant of it, would be as good a choice as "Fritz." Potential presidents must anticipate the longer historical possibilities, the danger of having a labeling adjective attached to a Presidential name, as Aethel-

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CHARLES MCDOWELL

WASHINGTON — Having promised long ago not to use his name, I will call him V.S.R. — for Very Strong Republican. He telephoned to say he wanted to protest the bias of the news media.

"You are running a little late this year," I said. "You usually call by the first of October of election years. I've missed you."

"Thank you," V.S.R. said. "Actually, I try to hold off complaining a little longer each year. My objective is eventually to become inured to the bias of the media. I figure I ought to try to learn to live with it, like my hay fever."

"Well, at least the media aren't responsible for your hay fever," I said, trying to keep the conversation light.

"I'm not so sure," he said. "I get a dry throat and a cough every time I look at the network newsmen. And a couple of your columns recently have

given me sneezing fits. But I shall try to keep my protest on an intellectual basis."

"That will be refreshing," I said. "I've already had three letters and two phone calls of protest today, and they were all visceral."

"Well, don't act surprised. You news people are pushing us pretty far. There comes a time when your bias against President Reagan and George Bush is more than fair-minded Americans can take," V.S.R. said. "As it happens, all the calls and letters today were from Democrats," I said truthfully.

"Democrats!" he said, and coughed. "Democrats," I said, and winced, for the Democrats had been pretty upset.

"Well, it's a good lesson for you," V.S.R. said. "You must realize how biased you have been against Reagan and Bush if even Democrats are protesting. It takes a real outrage

against the public interest to touch the conscience of a Democrat."

"Come off it, V.S.R.," I said. "The Democrats were protesting the news media's treatment of Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro."

"But they have no basis for protest," he said. "What could the Democrats, the sore heads, possibly object to?"

"They object to what they see as the news media's yearlong concentration on Mondale's troubles, fumbles, indecision, organizational confusion and problems with other Democrats. They say Mondale's message has been lost in the media's obsession with his misfortunes. They say we have brought out a new poll almost daily to emphasize the president's huge lead while portraying Mondale as a complaining, snake-bit, boring loser," I said.

"But what about your portrayal of Ronald Reagan?" he asked.

"The Democrats say we have let him get away with portraying himself as the father of his country in a cloud of balloons and flags, talking in generalities about how good everything is, and not being held accountable for anything bad. They say we have investigated Geraldine Ferraro's husband's conduct of his business with more zeal than we have reported Ronald Reagan's remoteness from the realities of the presidency," I said.

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Free fire zone

"Incomprehensible," declares Bill Washburn, chair of the Citizens Planning Coalition, "a disaster for the city and the nation. Thomas Jefferson, L'Enfant, McMillan — even Boss Shepherd — they'd shudder at the mess the mayor has labeled a 'comprehensive plan.'"

The mess comes before the city council this month as that body considers adoption of some vague splotches of color as the official land use map of the city.

Says Washburn, "This so-called plan converts the city into a free fire zone for developers." He recalls what Dorn McGrath of George Washington University said of it: "It's a plan only a zoning lawyer could love."

Washburn describes the plan as "full of platitudes and does not deal at all with a number of planning issues. And where it does, it leaves residential neighborhoods, small businesses, the city's waterways and shorelines all threatened with wanton and unfettered development — while areas needing development may not get it.

"And the maps! They have no street grid, and yet are cluttered with psychedelic blobs of color and overlays which are supposed to mean something. If they're confusing to me, a planner, how can the Zoning Commission be expected to interpret them? With a compass and a transit? All we're told is that the Office of Planning will be the Great Interpreter of it all!"

Coalition vice chair Anthony Hillary calls the test and maps "a charade designed to confuse and disarm. Is this supposed to protect my neighborhood. What do these screwy overlays mean? There isn't even any expressed commitment to do the ward and small area planning as amendments to the comprehensive plan within the next year or so. Where's the plan?"

Phyllis Young, chair of Neighborhood Commission 4C, decries the city's failure to incorporate the thinking of citizens who spent months on the test and maps before the earlier versions were sent back by the council to the mayor for revision and corrections: "A travesty. All our work to secure a better plan — down the drain."

Elsewhere we note some of the coalition's specific complaints. The plan is fraudulent and imbecilic and any councilmember who votes for it will be known by the company he or she keeps.



WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PLAN

SOME SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS RAISED
BY THE CITIZENS PLANNING COALITION

1. Too generalized on the one hand, and yet "spottily" specific. Uneven treatment. Cannot be interpreted evenhandedly. No priorities on goals and policies. No recipes for anything.
2. Uncertain what significance of labeling neighborhoods "enhancement," "redirection," or "conservation" areas means. Will neighborhoods similarly be treated alike? What do these labels mean in terms of future land use policy? Better to leave the labels off.
3. Lacks a planning commitment to intervene with population trends to assure a fair share of the regional population growth. No commitment to prevent loss of individuals or families to other jurisdictions. No commitment to prevent removal of housing units in sound established neighborhoods through conversion to, or demolition for, non-residential uses. No commitment to prevent encroachment of non-residential uses into residential neighborhoods. No serious commitment to produce housing downtown, or to protect residential neighborhoods close to downtown from commercial encroachment. No commitment to provide a range of community resources and services to nurture family life. Inadequate commitment to prevent excessive commercial density adjacent to established residential neighborhoods, and to prevent or control incompatible commercial uses, or concentrations of commercial and other uses which pose special problems for residential communities. Plans for the location of halfway houses, bars, liquor stores, fast food and convenience stores, are missing altogether, as elements in need of control and evenhanded distribution.
3. Lack of appreciation for the City's grand design, its splendid architecture, its sound and stately housing stock, its many natural features which should be conserved (parks, shorelines, waterways), special Federal attractions, such as the Mall, monuments, and the like.
4. The plan is not a true plan, for it reflects the fact that the most basic of planning work has yet to be done, although there is no commitment for the development of ward and small-area plans as revisions to and part of the comprehensive plan. This lack of planning shows in the contradictions, uneven treatment, and lack of resolution of outstanding land use issues.
5. The role of the ward and small-area plans is missing. No timetable for their development nor any indication that they will be incorporated in the comprehensive plan and enacted into law. If this planning is missing from the revised draft, and there is no commitment for ward and small-area plans, will the District Government ever do it?
6. There is lack of recognition that some industrially-zoned areas might be better suited to other zoning altogether, dependent on location, size, proximity to highways, etc. There is no provision for buffer areas between the new "production" centers and residential areas nearby, nor is there a clear delineation of scale and type of uses to be allowed in various of these newly-created centers.
7. There is lack of serious commitment to the protection and preservation of downtown's small businesses, fine old buildings, and of the retail core.
8. The element is grossly inelegant, mundane, artless, and totally lacking in ability to inspire citizens about the future of the District.
9. The maps are disastrous, particularly the land use map. The land use map is still at the same level of generality as before (same number of basic categories, for example). The difference is the fact that the boundaries for these colored categories are now blurred, especially so as there is no street grid on these maps. There is a lack of consistency among the maps as to color coding. The maps are unprofessional in layout and downright misleading. They invite misinterpretation.

SOME READERS MAY HAVE found it strange that the Review, almost alone among local publications, did not criticize the mayor for his comment that Carol Schwartz's primary victory was due to racism. The reason, simply, was that the best information we could find was that the mayor did not say it. There was no malice involved, just a case, in all probability, of mishearing what Barry said.

The reason that the story was so believable, however, was that there has been a lot of bad-mouthing of the white community down at city hall. Further, Walter Fauntroy did raise the issue of racism, albeit in such a muddled way that it's hard to know what he was talking about, to wit:

"The reality is that most Republicans know they are outnumbered six to one *** and their only hope of an at-large

victory is to have a candidate deeply rooted in Republican values and in the 70% black electorate of this city. The ethnic overtones to Republicans, as reported to me, urged 'Jerry's' defeat suggesting that racism prevented white Republicans from facing that reality."

It is also true that some local black politicians, including Barry and Fauntroy, have tried to co-opt blackness the way Ronald Reagan preempts family and religion. It is just as phoney but it seems to work.

Raising the race issue, whether explicitly or implicitly, works not only against whites in this town but also against would-be black critics of these politicians.

But in this particular instance, it would appear that Barry was given a bum rap. Which is a relief — since he's in office thanks in no small part to the

white voters of the town. In 1978 Barry took a plurality in all four wards with significant white populations — and they were the only wards he won. He even took good old racist Ward Three with 47% of the vote compared to 34% for Sterling Tucker and 18% for Walter Washington.

You'll be glad to know that the city government is not the only contributor to the Oliver Carr Relief Fund. In the closing days of its session, Congress voted to approve a deal that means a group led by Carr could get \$8.5 million for a 1.5 acre tract that was appraised four years ago for \$3.1 million. The deal was pushed through by a "technical amendment" sponsored by Carr buddy Michael Barnes. Richard Carr, vice president of the Oliver T. Carr Company thinks "we're getting less than it's worth."

REPORT CARD

Here's our monthly scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action, one point plus or minus for a public position taken without doing anything or for a bill introduced, and three points on especially important issues. Any corrections can be phoned to the Review (232-5544) and we will publish them in the next issue.

BOTTLE BILL: Councilmembers Moore, Jarvis and Spaulding all lose two points for voting to table the bottle bill in committee. Mason opposed the measure and gains two points.

HOME RULE MEASURE: Marion Barry gets two points for his work on getting Congress to rewrite the home rule bill in a way that has the effect of giving the city significantly more power.

CITY COUNCIL RACE: Add Polly Shackleton to the list of councilmembers mentioned last month who lose two points for the ill-conceived decision to back Jerry Moore for city council as a write-in candidate. Betty Ann Kane also loses two points for endorsing Republican Carol Schwartz instead of Jo Butler.

EFFI'S JOB: Marion Barry loses a point for not seeing anything wrong with his wife working for an advertising and public relations firm that does business with the city.

RESIDENTIAL CENTER: John Ray gains a point for introducing legislation to require for the first time that the city provide a residential facility for the treatment of drug abuse.

RENT CONTROL: Councilmembers Clarke, Wilson, Rolark, Shackleton, Smith, Mason and Moore each get a point for cosponsoring the extension of the rent control bill.

NAME	SCORE	GRADE
MASON	13	B
WILSON	6	B
KANE	4	C
CLARKE	-7	D
WINTER	-8	D
ROLARK	-8	D
<hr/> -COUNCIL AVERAGE <hr/>		
SMITH	-10	D
SHACKLETON	-12	D
RAY	-15	F
MOORE	-16	F
CRAWFORD	-22	F
SPAULDING	-23	F
JARVIS	-27	F
BARRY	-26	F

Since 1977 the number of morning commuters riding Metro(rail and bus) to the downtown area has increased by 32,000. Sounds good until you realize that the number of commuters to the downtown area has increased by 57,000. In other words, Metro-induced development has increased street crowding in downtown — exactly the opposite of what was promised by the planners, but precisely what this journal, since the 1970s, has told you would happen.

Marion Barry is out bragging about his great economic development program again. Latest paroxysms are over the hyper-development of the Greorgetown waterfront. But the truth of the matter is that the hundreds of millions of dollars spent on economic development have produced piddling results. In fact, sales tax revenue over the Barry administration's tenure has been roughly static after correcting for inflation. This revenue is a key indicator of successful development and it says Barry's efforts have been a bust. Another indicator — and one that Barry talks about endlessly, is job creation. But between 1981 and 1983, the city lost 2000 non-governmental jobs. The figure for DC residents is probably much worse since the Barry administration's policies have encouraged suburban day-tripper employment at the expense of jobs for DCers. You're being hustled, folks. Dave Clarke says we missed a key point in our story last month about the Jerry Moore affair. The effort to run Moore as a write-in candidate began before Norman Neverson dropped out of the race. If Neverson had stayed in, the Democratic councilmembers supporting Moore would have been at odds with the mayor who was backing Neverson. That would have made the race even more curious than it was and would have created an unusual mayoral-councilmanic contest. So grant the councilmembers credit for seeing Neverson's candidacy as a disaster but that still doesn't explain why they went with Moore instead of Jo Butler.

Here's a vignette from the wonderful world of Barry-esque politics. According to the rules of the Ward One Democrats, that body can endorse a candidate with a two-third vote and a quorum of 100 members. The group met to consider the at-large race, more than a hundred people were present. It looked like the crowd might go with Jo Butler, so the Barry chief of station simply got all the Marionettes to walk out, thus destroying the quorum.

Charles Cassell, who helped make the statehood constitutional convention far more fractious than it needed to be, continues to be a drag on the statehood movement. At a council hearing on the statehood convention budget, Cassell admitted that over \$60,000 of the convention's \$75,000 budget was unspent ten days before the end of the fiscal year. The only expenses reported were for two receptions and statehood posters.

Arthur Cotton Moore, who's got the Whitehurst Freeway contract, has come up with a relatively inexpensive way of sprucing up Washington's favorite eyesore. Moore's solution: add ironwork and lattices to the structure to make it look like someone really wanted it like that, then grow vines up the lattices. Looks interesting and perhaps fun.

Some folks down at city hall are chuckling and other others are mad as hops about the councilmember who has wangled appointments for a close personal friend to a number of commissions — and ones that are paying gigs at that. The member has been told to cut it out or there will be trouble.

Paul Wagner has made a wonderful documentary on the stone carvers of the National Cathedral. Aired last month on WETA, you'll probably get a chance to see it elsewhere — and you definitely should. Wagner, who did the prize-winning film on sleeping car porters, is turning into the Studs Terkel of movie making. He takes ordinary people and gets them talking and the result is often better than what you get out of Hollywood. [P.S. The foregoing represents a conflict of interest. Your editor sat on the DC Humanities Council which funded both films. It's still true.]

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LONDON LETTER

Des Wilson

I had lunch the other day with a former mandarin—a retired Permanent Secretary (departmental head) in Whitehall. He told me an illuminating story about a woman now popularly known in Britain as “she who must be obeyed.” I refer, of course, to our Prime Minister, our Ronald Reagan without the charm.

Apparently shortly after Mrs. Thatcher was elected in 1979 she held a dinner at no. 10 Downing Street for all the Permanent Secretaries, men (without exception) of unequalled experience in the administration of the country and very considerable power.

According to my mandarin, they arrived ready to serve her with enthusiasm. They were tired of the years of Labour incompetence and unreliability, and warmed to much of what Mrs. Thatcher had said in her election campaign.

“She could have had them all eating out of her hand,” the mandarin said.

Instead, she interrupted everybody who spoke, listened to no one, slapped them down, until the atmosphere was frosty in the extreme. “It had to be seen to be believed,” said the mandarin. “As an

exercise in the management of people it was catastrophic.”

After the dinner it was the Thatcher version that the civil servants were prickly and resistant to her ideas. The mandarin told a different story—of a classic exercise in alienation of potential friends. The story sums up one of the two outstanding characteristics of Mrs. Thatcher—a bossy, I-know-best, black and white approach that may or may not work if you’re running a small family business, but is catastrophic when applied to a complex country like Britain.

The other characteristic is to treat almost every situation in a confrontational way. Thus the Falklands War. At the time it worked to her electoral advantage, but increasingly the country is uncomfortable about the enormous price it now has to pay to maintain the fortress Falklands policy and justify the whole affair.

The same confrontational approach has made the miners’ strike the most difficult one to solve for over 50 years. (“The enemy within” was how she described the miners.)

It is now being applied to the civil service. Appalled at her insensitive attacks upon them, and by the cynicism with which the governmental information machine is employed, more and more civil servants have been faced with genuine crises of conscience.

Some have been driven to leak documents. Given their impeccable records (one who is due to appear in the dock of the Old Bailey under Section Two of The Official Secrets Act, and recently honoured by the Prime Minister herself, was an assistant secretary in the Ministry of Defence, and someone previously assumed to be destined for the top), you would think that the Prime Minister would be sufficiently stunned by such breaches of the traditional trust between ministers and civil servants to wonder whether the approach of her administration was less than satisfactory. Not a bit of it. Her response is to use the most discredited piece of legislation on the British Statute Book, The Official Secrets Act, to haul such people before judge and jury.

This act has two sections: the first deals with treachery, i.e. spies and the like. Section Two, however, makes it a crime to release any information whatsoever without authority, a crime punishable by trial in a central criminal court and a prison sentence.

The Prime Minister has already sent a secretary in her 20s to prison for six months for leaking documents that were in no way a threat to national security. Another senior civil servant is threatened with a similar fate at present for releasing documents which would endanger nobody but were embarrassing to the Prime Minister.

Following her decision to withdraw trade union status from civil servants employed at the Security Headquarters at Cheltenham, the war she has now declared on Whitehall has aroused intense hostility. As a result we face for the first time ever a possible breakdown in cooperation and understanding between ministers and civil servants. If this happens it will precipitate a constitutional crisis. And if that happens, Mrs. Thatcher will undoubtedly have declared one war too many.

CRYING FOR BLOOD

David Clarke

Confederate flags were waving. Cries and signs of “kill him” and “Fry ‘em” were heard and seen. One sign said “Burn Briley Burn,” a clear reference to the object of their hate, one Linwood Briley, and a not-so-clear reference to his race, black. A line of police held the 200 people back. I had a distinct feeling I was looking across the street at a lynch mob.

While that group stood in front of me, behind me stood a large brick building. Inside that building was Linwood Briley secure in a jail cell—until the authorities there killed him themselves by frying him in an electric chair to satisfy that crowd and those of similar persuasion.

Indeed, the satisfaction of that crowd is the foremost justification put forth for capital punishment today. It’s called retribution, and the theory is that the people, represented by those 200 citizens, are hungry for vengeance, and it is the state’s responsibility to provide it lest they do so themselves.

The proponents’ old theory, that the death penalty deters other crimes, has been waning in recent years. Most proponents now admit that there is no proof of deterrence while opponents and some independent analysts have found that it stimulates the commission of homicide. Statistics have also shown the penalty has been exacted in a racially and economically discriminating manner, and many cases of innocent persons having been executed (Christ and Socrates to name two) can be brought forth to contrast with admitted brutes who have been executed.

The retribution theory is different. It does not admit to objective analysis, and I have to confess that, as an opponent of the death penalty, I have had a hard time pointing to something concrete to respond to it. That is until October 12.

By the retribution theory, Briley’s execution was supposed to quiet that crowd down. In fact, it did

just the opposite. As the fateful hour approached, the crowd grew more frenzied. When an ambulance thought to be carrying the corpse began its journey, there was great cheering. And when the deceased’s attorney was led into the crowd to get into her car, there was absolute pandemonium as those whose so-called legitimate desire for vengeance was supposed to have been satisfied surrounded the car and pounded on it with their fists. Police and dogs are said to have been required to protect her.

At previous executions in other states, people had gathered at the site both for and against the death penalty. But, at certain moments, like when the designated hour came and when the hearse went by, everybody was silent.

Not so in Richmond. The spilling of Briley’s blood brought cries for more blood, and it did not matter much whose. The return to institutions of yesteryear was hailed, and it did not matter much which institution—capital punishment or the Confederacy. While officials might make a distinction, the crowd whose supposedly legitimate desire for vengeance was to be quelled did not see much difference.

In the end, order was maintained. It was maintained, and maintained well under the circumstances, by a line of police officers. And, with them, the graphic picture I lacked in responding to the retribution argument was provided. Like those police, the state stands between two groups of its citizens—one demanding peace and the other demanding blood. It stands between two forces of history—one forward and the other backward. And it responds to two impulses of its people. One of them is a demand for firm justice and the protection of society. The other is neither anger nor vengeance but hatred. While the police maintained order outside the prison, the state did nothing to satisfy anger or quiet vengeance by what it did inside; it increased the incidence and popularity of hatred.

And there lies the real victim and ultimate tragedy of the death penalty. It is not the killer who is executed who is its real victim; it is the rest of us, the good citizens, who are transformed into killers by it.

David Clarke is chair of the D.C. city council.

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BATTLE OVER BILINGUALISM

William O. Beeman

We are poised on the verge of a smoldering bush war—a war over policy which is as likely to determine the shape of American society as anything that has occurred in this century.

The issue is bilingualism. And the question is, will the United States become multicultural and multilingual, or will government agencies officially support a policy favoring uniformity?

Bilingualism is now an issue in our most vital institutions—the schools, courts, the voting booth—and important decisions are pending in all three.

A series of court rulings and laws mandating bilingual education and ballots, dating from the 1960s and early '70s, has never been fully implemented. And groups opposing these decisions are working hard to make sure they are turned back.

Since putting a policy into practice is rarely a national matter, the battlegrounds in this fight will be school districts, state legislatures and courtrooms. As yet, no overall pattern has emerged.

Bilingualism threatens the concept of the "melting pot." This was an attractive image for a relatively new nation, but many analysts think it no longer describes the way our society incorporates immigrant populations. They prefer to speak of "cultural pluralism," in which every ethnic group maintains a separate identity.

The clearest sign of this lack of assimilation is the proliferation of languages other than English. In large cities, Spanish, Chinese, and other languages appear increasingly on billboards, in conversations at the grocery store and in public messages such as electric bills and legal notices.

All this disturbs many citizens—and the popular press has fed their unease. Time Magazine wrote in 1978 that Spanish was "swamping" English in Miami. As early as 1974, the Washington Post wrote that bilingualism would weaken "the common American glue."

Perhaps the most prominent opponent of bilingualism is S.I. Hayakawa. As a former U.S. Senator, former university administrator, and linguist, his views have carried great weight.

In 1981, Hayakawa introduced a Constitutional amendment making English the country's official language. A short time later, an organization named U.S. English was formed to "channel the outpouring of popular support" for Hayakawa's views "into a genuine movement for the protection of our common language."

The organization's principal goal is "leading the challenge against unwise policies that are segregating American society along language lines."

Opposition from such groups has helped roll back policies favoring bilingualism, most recently with a series of decisions allowing a number of counties in California to withdraw bilingual ballots.

The law calls for such ballots when "a single language minority who do not speak or understand English adequately enough to vote" makes up five percent of the voting population. Many were sur-

prised when the Census Bureau ruled that these cities, with large Spanish-speaking populations, did not meet that test. Bilingual education became law in the United States in the late 1960s. But that law was essentially an anti-poverty measure, not a way to promote cultural pluralism.

At present, federal funds support more than 500 programs involving some 5 million children nationwide, and include a variety of languages such as Spanish, Navajo, Chinese and Aleut.

Contrary to popular belief, these efforts do not perpetuate the use of two languages. They are only "transition" programs which use the child's native language as a means for moving to English, while teaching mathematics and other subjects in the native language.

U.S. English and other groups favor teaching English as a second language before academic subjects are attempted, though educators and linguists say the transitional programs result in far better academic performance.

In the courts, laws assuring language equity have yet to be implemented, and officials are often dependent on local funding when they want to provide translators in legal defense cases.

This has led to some injustices. Last year, one Vincente Cruz spent five months in a Washington DC jail because he didn't understand English and therefore was unaware that he could be freed on bail. The District of Columbia provides translators to indigent defendants but not otherwise, and provides no help whatever in small claims and traffic court.

No one has yet suggested that non-English speaking defendants should be deprived of the right to a translator. Yet if local sentiments run generally against bilingual services, the number of court officials and lawyers capable of handling the needs of non-English speakers may fall.

"We get a small number of letters each year opposing bilingual education in Massachusetts," claims Eduardo Caballo, a project director for federal programs at the Massachusetts Bureau of Transitional Bilingual Education. "Most of them claim, 'We had immigrants before and they got along without these programs. Why do we have to have them now?'"

These are also the sentiments of Gerda Bikales, director of U.S. English, a Washington-based organization which advertises itself as dedicated to stopping the "mindless drift toward a bilingual America."

Bikales writes, "For today's newcomers there is bilingual education, and voting ballots in foreign languages, and talk about dropping English as a requirement for citizenship."

"I asked my parents, now retired, whether these accommodations would have helped us when we were newcomers. They were offended at the mere suggestion. 'You would be a nobody if they didn't make you learn English right away,' my mother lec-

tured me, 'and if we didn't have to work hard for our citizenship, would we appreciate it the way we do?'"

But the idea that English-only instruction has always been the norm in the United States is largely a myth, says Adeline Becker, director of the New England Bilingual Education Multi-Functional Support Center, in Providence, R.I.

In the 19th century, she says, "Laws on the books to provide bilingual education to immigrant populations were common throughout the country."

Public acceptance of such programs seems to change according to the political climate, and more importantly with the threat foreigners seem to pose to the United States. "After World War I bilingual education was almost stopped as a result of public suspicion of foreigners," claims Becker, and 34 states passed laws prohibiting the use of foreign language in schools.

This changed with Sputnik, when a "new interest in foreign languages grew up." But, she adds, the real question concerns not the value of such programs in the classroom, "but whether society should perpetuate national cultures."

The first post-World War II bilingual program began, with a grant from the Ford Foundation, in Miami in 1963. The Cuban population there resembled the U.S. middle class and so did not seem to pose a threat, according to Becker. After that, the National Education Association recommended extending bilingual programs to the whole United States.

Then in the late 1970s, when a new flood of immigrants from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean began to arrive, attitudes changed. Rapid immigration seems to increase opposition to bilingual efforts.

Caballo says one reason his Massachusetts program is so successful is that "the pace of immigration has been manageable. This does not put a strain on the population." He says opposition has been stronger in California, Texas and Florida.

David Dolson, consultant for California's Bilingual Education Office, thinks opposition is more an economic matter. "When the economy is bad, these people are seen as scapegoats, and programs affecting immigrants are the first to be challenged."

Many teachers see bilingual programs as a labor issue. "Teachers' unions have come out against bilingual education," claims Adeline Becker. "They always discuss it as a pedagogical issue, but it goes well beyond that. They see their jobs being taken by legally mandated bilingual teachers."

Provision of bilingual ballots and bilingual education are both governed by "trigger mechanisms." When the percentage of non-English-speaking individuals in a particular jurisdiction exceeds a certain number, then the service is mandated by law.

Most advocates of such programs see this as a fundamental obstacle to providing useful services. "Instead of deciding that we are going to achieve educational goals, we are geared to filling legal requirements," says Dolson. "This makes for poor planning and bad educational policy."

Bilingual services in the courts vary from state to state. In Rhode Island, a non-English speaking defendant's attorney must get a court order to secure the services of a translator while California has a regular group of translators on call. But there is no operating national policy for non-English speakers in the courts.

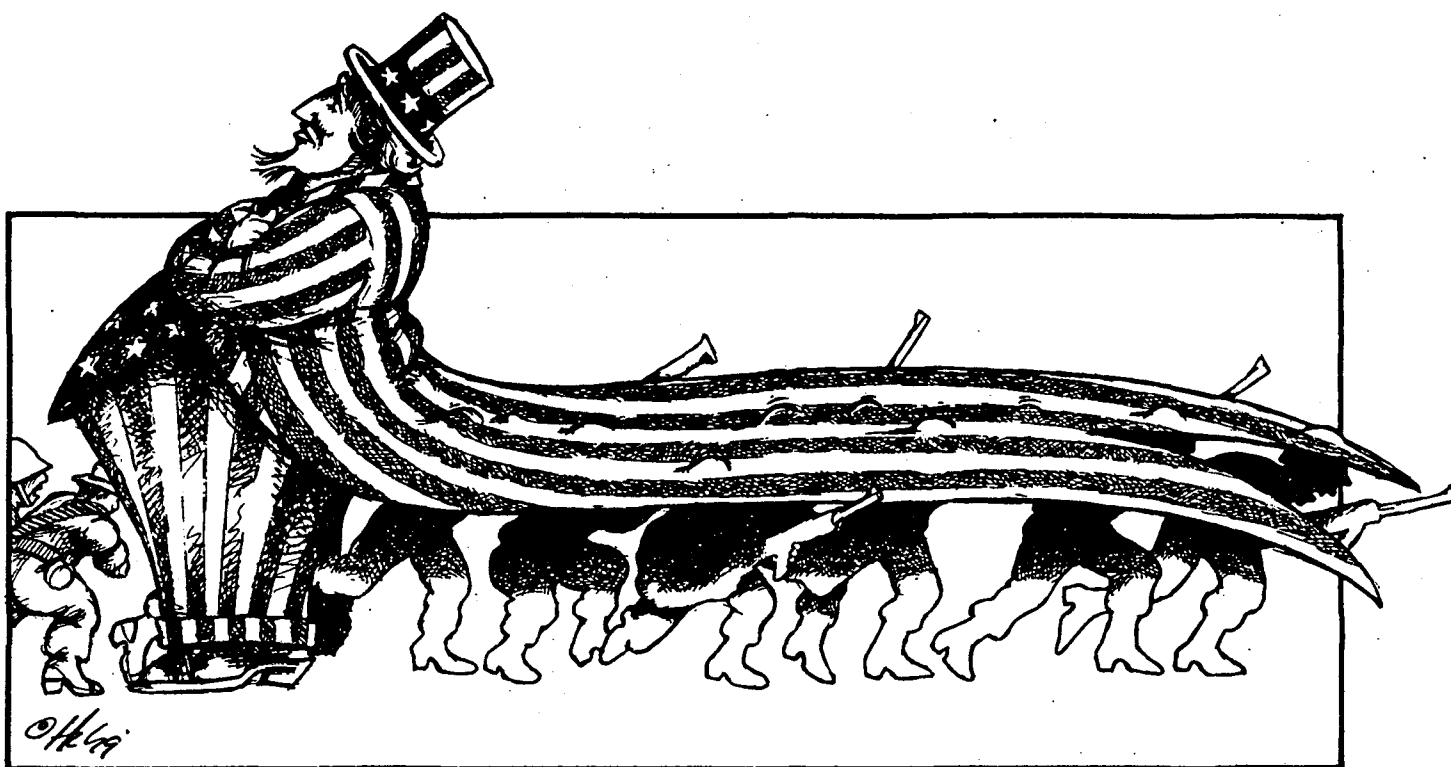
It is not clear what will happen in the next few years to bilingual programs in the schools, courts and election booths.

The current administration in Washington appears not to favor expansion of current programs. "There has been a movement afoot under this administration to develop alternatives to bilingual education," claims Caballo, who sees an effort to persuade Congress to approve English-only instruction.

Such a possibility, claims Dolson, makes educators "pessimistic that they will be able to continue to develop the program."

Those who favor bilingual programs in any area now face the challenge of mounting a successful counter-attack on the oppositionists. One Culver City, Cal., group, Advocates for Language Learning, has mounted a wide range of public education programs in favor of bilingualism and is rapidly developing chapters throughout California. This is good news for advocates of bilingualism in America, for it is just such work at the local level which will allow continuation of these programs.

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CHEATING CONGRESS IN HONDURAS

The Defense Department has built a network of military facilities throughout Honduras, developing an infrastructure that could be used to send U.S. troops into combat, according to a report appearing in the September/October edition of *Common Cause Magazine*.

The report says that much of the military buildup—conducted during joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises—has apparently been achieved by using unauthorized and misleading funding schemes that seem to be designed to circumvent specific congressional limits on U.S. military involvement in Central America.

In June, the Comptroller General—head of the General Accounting Office—ruled that the funding methods used for some Pentagon projects in Honduras violated federal law. And in a recent interview with *Common Cause Magazine*, one GAO official said that the Pentagon's actions in Honduras have the potential—in the broadest sense—"for complete disregard" of the Constitution's establishment of civilian control over the military.

According to Representative Lee Hamilton (D-IN), a member of the Select Committee on Intelligence, a "group within the administration wants to win a military victory in Central America" and is "going to push the law to its limits to get the support and resources down there that they think they need."

Using Defense Department documents, the magazine found that over the past two years the Pentagon has built a network of military facilities in Honduras—all without prior approval of Congress—including the following:

- * *Palmerola*: more than 130 wooden buildings to be used as barracks, administrative and dining facilities and as a recreation area; and a system of dirt roads for a total cost of more than \$700,000;
- * *Trujillo*: an extended paved runway to accommodate massive C-130 cargo planes which carry troops, equipment, arms and ammunition; and 16 huts for a total cost of \$260,000; and 40 wooden huts for housing, administration and support facilities for \$142,000;
- * *San Lorenzo*: 94 wooden huts for dining, administration, barracks and other support facilities for \$300,000; and a 3,000-foot dirt runway to accommodate C-130 cargo planes for \$106,000;
- * *Aguacate*: an extended dirt airstrip to handle

simultaneous use by more than one cargo plane for \$165,000;

* *Jamastran*: an upgraded dirt airstrip for \$101,000; and

* *Cerro la Mole*: installed radar facilities for \$110,000.

The Pentagon says most of the structures were built for joint exercises and are "temporary." But Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), of the Armed Services Tactical Warfare Subcommittee, says the Defense Department has "a permanent military infrastructure being constructed there" that Congress has not authorized.

In addition, critics maintain that the Pentagon may be using the facilities to evade specific limits on U.S. military involvement in Central America. For example, the magazine cites 100 U.S. trainers who have trained 5,000 El Salvadoran troops in Honduras in the past two years—an apparent attempt to circumvent the 55-person limit on military advisers to El Salvador.

Critics in Congress—such as Deputy Majority Whip William Alexander (D-AR), a member of the House Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee—say the gradual buildup is similar to what occurred during the Vietnam War. In this context, Honduras could well play the same role in Central America that Thailand served during the 1960s and early '70s, according to the magazine.

Like Thailand, the magazine reports, Honduras—which is located between Nicaragua and El Salvador—is the perfect place for the United States to locate bases and military support facilities. Honduras—again like Thailand—has an anti-communist government heavily dependent on the U.S. for military and economic assistance. And like Thailand, Honduras is willing to have Central Intelligence Agency agents and U.S. troops stationed there.

However, according to the magazine, there is one important difference. In Southeast Asia, the military buildup was done principally with funds specifically appropriated for that purpose by Congress; whereas in Honduras, the Pentagon appears to be circumventing Congress by using backdoor funding techniques.

The most controversial of these methods, the magazine found, is the use of operations and maintenance funds. Major military construction projects abroad—especially those costing more than

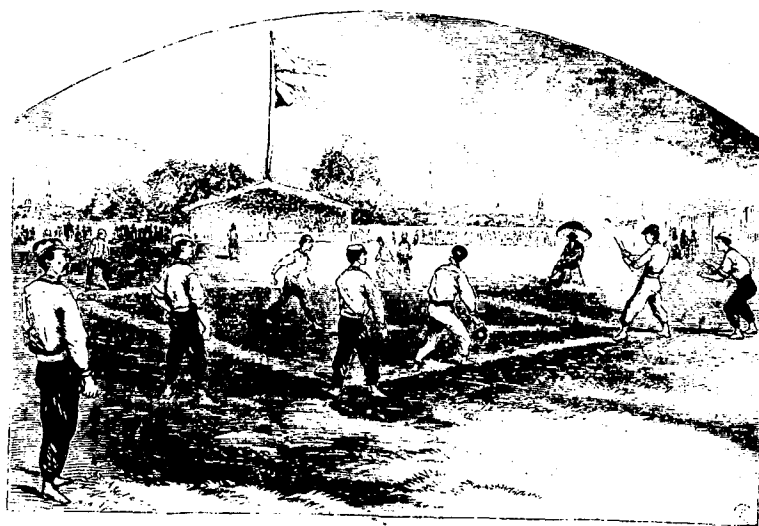
\$200,000—are usually reviewed by Congress and built with funds appropriated specifically for military construction. In Honduras, however, most Pentagon projects have been financed with operation and maintenance funds. Projects financed with these funds do not require congressional review. The Pentagon has justified using operations and maintenance funds on the grounds that these projects are not permanent. But in June, the GAO ruled that the Pentagon was not authorized to use operations and maintenance funds to construct facilities costing more than \$200,000, to train Hondurans, or to provide medical care for Honduran civilians.

In addition, the magazine reports, there is concern that the Pentagon used several other subterfuges to get funding for projects in Honduras. These include getting a temporary facility upgraded to a permanent facility, and underestimating costs.

The Reagan administration has defended its activities in Honduras as a straightforward attempt to stop Soviet and Cuban expansionism in the region. But a number of military and civilian Hondurans—interviewed by the author during a two-week visit to Honduras in August—said that American military activities may be undercutting the civilian government and have had serious repercussions on the economy.

"The Tug of War" was written by Jacqueline Sharkey, an assistant professor of journalism at the University of Arizona in Tucson who traveled in Honduras and Costa Rica on a grant from the Tinker Foundation in New York. Sharkey, who has traveled in and reported extensively on Latin America, was a Fulbright Fellow in Colombia in 1979.

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BRING BACK THE HAVANA SUGAR KINGS

Jonathan Rowe

A photograph in the October 14, 1959 edition of *The Sporting News* shows a beaming Fidel Castro shaking hands with a crew-cut gringo named Ted Wieand. Wieand was about to pitch the seventh and final game of the Junior World Series for the Triple-A Havana Sugar Kings against the Minneapolis Millers, whose second baseman was a fellow named Carl Yastrzemski. Havana won that game, and the series; and though it had been in the league only a few years, the team seemed to have a promising future.

It was not to be. Castro became our devil, we became his, and the Sugar Kings became the Jersey City Jerseys. But baseball resides in a zone that is beyond such matters as ideology and the Cold War. Despite 20 years of CIA plots, Cuban adventurism, and harangues on both sides, those Cuban players and fans still want to play ball. "We all await the day when we can play against the North American Great Leaguers," Wilfredo Sanchez, Cuba's leading lifetime hitter (.332 lifetime average) told Thomas Boswell of *The Washington Post*.

We should give Wilfredo Sanchez and his countrymen their wish. Specifically, we should admit Havana into the American League. It would be great for the game, and great for our relations in the hemisphere to boot. The Soviets would be shut out cold. As Don Miguel Cuevas, Cuba's native Joe DiMaggio, put it, "The Russians have yet to come up with a good left-handed hitter."

Cubans are nuts about baseball. "Even Brooklyn couldn't match Cuban 'fanaticos,'" wrote a sportswriter for the Toronto *Daily Star* after the Sugar King/Miller series. A Havana journalist said of Cuevas: "In a baseball crowd, even Fidel would not receive the recognition of Don Miguel."

Among the Cuban baseball nuts is Fidel Castro himself, who, as a pitcher for the University of Havana, was scouted by the old Washington Senators. ("Good stuff," the reports said.) Fidel attended all five games of the '59 series that were played in Havana, once calling off a cabinet meeting and dragging the ministers off to the park. If only we could get Castro and Reagan, the former sportscaster, together, just think how they could reminisce about the golden days of Williams and Mantle, Snider and Mays. Sorry, Chernenko.

So there is ample precedent for bringing Havana into the upper reaches of the sport. The benefits could be enormous. At first Castro might insist upon a Cuban national team. But the aim should be an entry

that, like the White Sox or Athletics, consists of players from all over. That way, folks in Fort Worth and Spokane could root for their hometown boys playing for the Havana team, the way basketball fans in Indiana root for the Boston Celtics and their star Larry Bird, who was born and raised in the state. Similarly, American fans might feel just a tad more kindly toward Cuba if Cuban players were on their teams as well. It may sound remote. But a black in the major leagues sounded remote, too, until Jackie Robinson came along.

At the same time, we might even regain some of the good will in Cuba that politicians up to and including Reagan have squandered. "The U.S. ambassador to Cuba, Phillip Bonsal, got a big hand at each of the games he attended," *The Sporting News* reported after the '59 series. The paper went on to report an "incident" at the Cuban ballpark upon which every American president should reflect.

"As the Cuban national anthem was played," the paper reported, "the overflow crowd sang. Then it was 'The Star Spangled Banner,' and near the end a loud voice interrupted. Immediately after the last strains of our national anthem had died away, the crowd roared, 'Afuera, afuera [Throw him out, throw him out]!' The culprit was promptly ejected."

This, don't forget, was after Castro's revolution, when we still had an opportunity to establish some form of ties with the country.

There would be difficulties to be sure. One is the resolutely amateur status of Cuba's players. They ride on buses, sleep in bunk beds in the visiting team's clubhouse, and—officially at least—all hold other jobs. They also have deep convictions about what they do. A *Sports Illustrated* writer reported, "When the splendid young Las Villas rightfielder, Lourdes Gourriel, was asked if he would accept \$1 million to play major league baseball in the United States, he looked as indignant as if someone had proposed he seek employment in a tenderloin district massage parlor. 'I do not,' he replied in a level tone, 'sell myself for money.'"

"We give to the people and they give us back things that cannot be measured," said Wilfredo Sanchez.

Combining this attitude in the same league with today's million-dollar American players would be no mean feat. Pushing towards such an arrangement, however, would be several very strong forces. First, from this end, a Cuban entry would be a gate attraction that baseball's money-minded executives—and

their brethren at ABC Sports—would not fail to note. "I don't think other clubs would stand for one team getting a foothold there," said Baltimore Orioles General Manager Hank Peters, when the leagues stopped George Steinbrenner from taking the Yankees for an exhibition series in Havana. On the opposite shore, even Fidel would be hard pressed to deny his countrymen the opportunity to see in the flesh the immortals in the "Great Leagues," once the opportunity were advanced. Fidel, too, in his own way, understands the economic importance of the sport. "Baseball helps the [sugar] harvest," he has said. If we can trade wheat with the Russians, there must be a way to play baseball with the Cubans.

Besides, a few Lourdes Gourriels and Wilfredo Sanchez's, with their indifference to money, would not be a bad example for us. An aide to the Persian King Mardonious, upon hearing that the rival Greeks competed among one another for mere olive wreaths, said plaintively to his master, "Woe unto us, Mardonious. Against what manner of men are you leading us, since they do not compete for gold, but for honor alone."

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The committees are asking for a contribution of \$5 from those wishing to be on the mailing list.

ESCALATION IN EL SALVADOR

Michael T. Klare

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The Salvadorean government's new military offensive -- launched three days after the La Palma peace talks -- marks a largely unheralded escalation in the war. For the first time the government is making systematic use of Vietnam style helicopter assault tactics against the guerrillas.

If the new tactics succeed, Salvadorean forces and their U.S. advisers could greatly diminish the rebel's combat strength, and weaken their position at future peace talks -- could, indeed, prevent any more talks from occurring, and so undermine the present popularity of President Jose Napoleon Duarte.

On the other hand, should the guerrillas successfully counter the new tactics, we could see a significant new escalation in the conflict -- and an even greater risk of direct U.S. involvement.

Already, the guerrillas have claimed credit for the Oct. 23 downing of a helicopter which killed 14, including the main proponent of the new tactics, Lieut. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, and the chief of the U.S.-trained elite Atlacatl brigade.

Salvadoran military officials blamed the helicopter crash on mechanical failure.

While both Duarte and opposition leaders have expressed optimism about further peace talks, neither side has shown any inclination to reduce the tempo of fighting. Indeed, the new government offensive -- said to involve 6-7,000 troops, or about one-fifth of the entire Salvadorean army -- suggests a renewed determination to settle the conflict on the battlefield.

Most experts have called the Salvadorean war a stalemate. But recently some Reagan Administration officials have asserted that the army -- buttressed with fresh U.S. aid -- is making significant headway.

"There has been a recent convergence of developments that, if continued, will promote eventual success in getting the insurgents under control," Undersecretary of Defense Fred C. Ikle declared in early October.

Chief among these developments, U.S. officials suggest, are the adoption of more aggressive combat tactics, greater reliance on airpower and the delivery of fresh arms and helicopters.

The new tactics were demonstrated last spring, when the daily tally of air strikes tripled, to approximately 30 or more. These strikes, with U.S.-supplied A-37B jets, have

forced the guerrillas to operate in smaller and smaller groups and have reportedly produced large numbers of civilian casualties, thus forcing rebel sympathizers into government-controlled areas.

The next phase in the U.S.-inspired plan is for Salvadorean forces to master the helicopter assault tactics developed to combat Viet Cong guerrillas during the Vietnam war. This new strategy -- being tested in the current government offensive -- calls for landing government troops to the insurgents' rear while regular ground forces attack them in the front. This denies the guerrillas the chance to escape large sweeps, as they have so often done in the past.

To facilitate such maneuvers, the United States is doubling the size of El Salvador's helicopter fleet to approximately 50. Some 15 UH-1 "Huey" helicopters were delivered in September, and another 10 or so are to come in by year's end, which will give the government the ability to airlift an entire battalion of 500-800 soldiers.

If the army masters the intricate ballet of heli-borne assault, it could win some decisive battlefield victories. At the very least the new tactics will compel the guerrillas to keep their forces small and mobile and to avoid confronting large detachments.

And this, Undersecretary Ikle believes, means the insurgent threat could be substantially contained by 1986 or so.

Like so many Vietnam-era predictions, however, this latest incantation of "light at the end of the tunnel" fails to allow for the guerrillas' resourcefulness. While helicopters could give the Army an edge, they will also provoke countermeasures -- and this, in turn, could lead to new escalation.

Skillfully used, helicopters can provide a significant advantage. But helicopters are also very vulnerable--the United States lost 4,643 during the Vietnam war, mostly to small arms fire from troops on the ground. They are also very vulnerable to shoulder-fired, heat-seeking missiles of the sort that can increasingly be found for sale on the international black market for arms.

Should the guerrillas acquire and use such missiles or in some other way bring down U.S.-supplied helicopters, this would represent a serious setback for the Salvadorean government.

(C) PNS

UNEMPLOYMENT

University of California at Berkeley has suggested that unemployment itself became "less important" as the jobless increasingly became composed of socially inferior and less powerful groups—women, youth and minorities.

Under the Reagan Administration the idea that most unemployment is a matter of personal choice has been firmly embedded in policy and program.

(C) PNS

WEATHER

reached its most extreme realization. Although Reagan often evokes Eisenhower as a model, Reagan's arms policies are in fact the exact opposite of Eisenhower's."

Eisenhower firmly believed that a nuclear war would destroy civilization and he steadfastly opposed the nuclear arms race. When he was elected, says Ambrose, he was under tremendous pressure to cut taxes. But he refused to do so until he had balanced the budget, a goal he achieved largely by cutting the defense budget. "In the long run," Eisenhower told his chief science advisor, "no country can advance intellectually and in terms of its culture and well-being if it has to devote everything to military buildup."

Catholics and Abortion

Some religious leaders' statements to the contrary, most of the 50 million Catholics in the US say abortion should stay legal.

That's according to a study by Ralph Lane, chair of the Sociology Department at the Jesuit-run University of San Francisco.

Lane's study shows about 90 percent of Catholics surveyed from 1972 to 1982 said abortions should be legal in certain cases, ranging from rape to health risks to the pregnant woman and even to financial burdens.

In addition, more than a third of the Catholics in the US said in 1982 that abortion should be available on demand—meaning in *all* cases.

Data from the survey came from 1500 interviews conducted at random in 1972, 1975 and 1982.

Deja Vu

The Swiss parliament has chosen Elizabeth Kopp, the mayor of a Zurich suburb, as its first female cabinet minister. Kopp successfully eluded attempts to oust her from consideration on the basis of questioning her husband's finances.

New Stress Study

Stress, office automation, and indoor air pollution may indeed be hazardous to office workers' health.

Those were the findings of a new study by the Office of Technology Assessment. The study confirms the results of a National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health Study conducted in 1981,

which tagged piece work, monitoring and quotas as contributors to job stress. However, the OTA study goes further, and indicates that machine design can result in musculoskeletal disorders and vision-related complaints.

The office workers' organization, Nine to Five, points out that the study recommends particular care in working with video display terminals. On this issue the OTA study outlines three alternatives: conducting more research on risks to VDT operators, especially in reproductive effects; reducing radiation emissions for VDTs; and providing education and training for users.

Karen Nussbaum, executive director of Nine to Five, claimed victory for her organization, saying that "All Nine to Five office workers can be proud today that the human factors—or ergonomics—we talked about three years ago are today recognized in the OTA study."

Women Rabbis

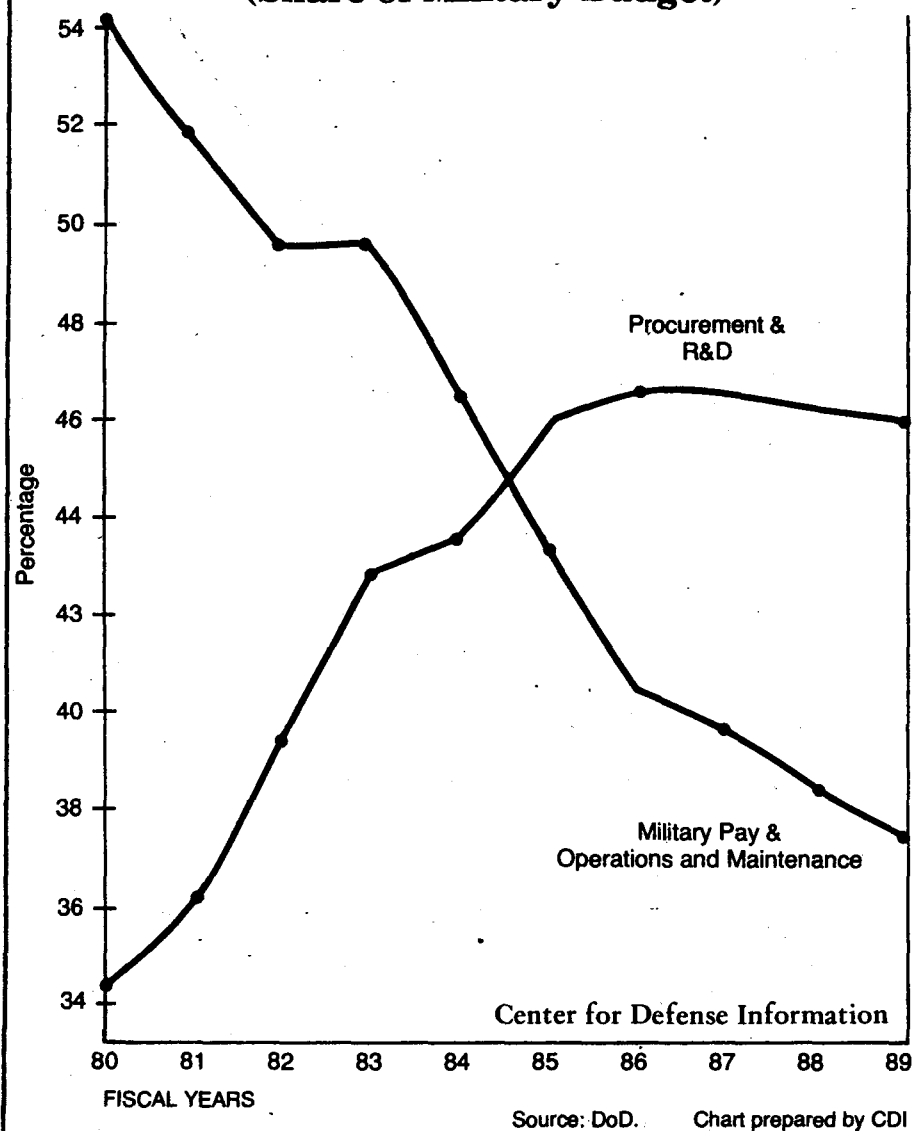
Twenty-three women last month became the first women to begin studying for ordination as conser-

vative rabbis. The reform movement of Judaism has ordained women as rabbis since 1972, but the conservative movement didn't decide to follow suit till last year. The women's studies at a rabbinical academy in New York City will last approximately five years. Being accepted by congregations is the next step—one new student pointed out that female rabbis weren't really accepted by reform congregations for ten years.

62nd Nuclear Free Zone Declared

The city council of Hoboken, NJ, unanimously adopted a nuclear free zone ordinance on September 19. The new law prohibits the research, production, storage or transport of nuclear weapons and nuclear waste within the City and its port. It also bars companies involved in the production of nuclear weapons or their components from receiving any city contracts or awards. Hoboken is America's 62nd Nuclear Free Zone and the third, after Takoma Park, MD, and Amherst, MA, to refuse to do business with the nuclear weapons industries.

More Weapons, Less Readiness (Share of Military Budget)



MOTHER JONES FACES SQUEEZE

Mother Jones magazine has sent out an appeal to its 175,000 readers, asking for money so the publication can put out its first two issues of next year. The magazine needs \$145,000. Editor Robin Wolaner estimates that readers sent in \$80,000 in the first ten days after the appeal went out.

BLACK POVERTY HITS RECORD

A study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reports that nearly 36% of all blacks lived in poverty last year, the highest figure since records were first kept in 1966. The report was based on data from the Census Bureau, Congressional Budget Office and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The study found that the income of the typical black family fell 5.3% in real

dollars between 1980 and 1983. Meanwhile, the top 60% of the white population gained considerably during the same period. The black longterm unemployment rate rose 72% since 1981 compared to a white increase of only 1.5%. The changes resulted in 1.3 million blacks falling into the poverty category during 1980-1983.

BANKS SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS

Dennis Banks, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, was sentenced to three years in prison last month for assault and rioting charges that grew out of the 1973 Custer County Courthouse riot. Banks said that he had come to Custer to protest discrimination and not to riot. Following the riot, Banks spent nine years underground, fearing that he might be killed in prison.

STONE

"Hey, Joe, no wonder you're punch-drunk — you backed Reagan!" ... "Hey, Ali, float like a butterfly/sting like a bee. A vote for Reagan will bring back slavery."

That's precisely why the Republicans demothballed the Trifling Triplets, Ali, Frazier and Patterson, for that billboard.

No trio of self-respecting black athletes would have consented to such a self-demeaning charade.

But deep in their hearts, the Trifling Triplets may sincerely believe Ronald Reagan will be good for blacks.

This is the apologetic line for racism that political transvestite, Ben Wattenberg, keeps peddling.

In a recently published book, Wattenberg is a cheerleader for the conservative omphaloskepsis (obsession with navel contemplation) that blacks are doing just peachy keen.

Sure, blacks are doing better — nobody denies that. Freedom is better than slavery. But as Les McCann asks, "compared to what?"

Since Reagan was elected, economic disparities between whites and blacks have worsened.

According to a recent study, "Falling Behind: A Report on How Blacks Have Fared Under the Reagan Policies," by the nonpartisan Center on Budget and Public Priorities, this is the scorecard:

- Nearly 36 percent of all blacks live in poverty — the highest rate since the Census Bureau started collecting data on black poverty in 1966.

- From 1980 to 1983, an additional 1.3 million blacks became poor.

- Black unemployment as of August 1984 (16 percent) is higher than the 14.4 percent level in 1981.

- Since 1981, long-term black unemployment has risen 72 percent (those out of work at least six months and looking for work) compared to that of whites, which only rose 1.5 percent.

- The median family income disparity between black and white families has widened in the last three years.

- The average black family in every economic stratum has suffered a decline in its standard of living since 1980.

- A typical black family's income dropped 5.3 percent between 1980 and 1983, a drop larger than that of any other population group.

- The tax burden has shifted from whites to blacks, as taxes have been raised for lower-income families and reduced for wealthier families.

At a Congressional Black Caucus press conference three weeks ago, Rep. Edolphus Townes, D-N.Y., pointed out that in 1980, blacks received 3 percent of mortgage loans and 8 percent of operating loans from the Farmers Home Administration.

Last year, black farmers received only 1 percent of ownership loans and 5 percent of operating loans.

At that rate, black-owned farms will be wiped out in two decades.

And Ronald Reagan's slow strangulation of black economic progress is what the Trifling Triplets — Ali, Frazier and Patterson — have endorsed.

Those punches to the head will do it to you every time.

Philadelphia Daily News

Marijuana smokers may have a new hero: James Watt. The reason: he's now heading a firm that produces a home testing kit for paraquat, the herb killer used on marijuana fields. Watt ignored fears about the chemical's health hazards when he was Interior Secretary, but it looks like he's turned over a new leaf.

FREEZE

also fighting for concrete victories in Congress on questions like anti-satellite weapons, the MX, or aid to the contras, and self-consciously claiming them as victories for the freeze and disarmament movement.

The disarmament movement was reborn less than four years ago. If we consider how far we have come in that time, with Reagan in the White House, think how much further we can go in the next four years, no matter who is president!

—Coalition Close-Up

McCARTHY

red II, the English king about the year 1000 A.D. was branded as "Aethelred, the Unready" and carries that name in the historical record today.

MY ATTITUDE toward the name "Fritz" may be as negative as it is not because of any historical or literary association, but because of my experience in my home town. Nicknames were common, but not ordinary. They were, as I look back, almost art forms. The Werner family, for example, had one son named Gregory who was called "Dutch," another, Raphael, who was known as "Rats," one baptised Elmer, who carried two names used interchangeably by townspeople, either "Nick" or "Candy."

Another family, with the surname "Manuel," had a son named Andrew who was called "Span," an Aloysius who carried the name "Stub," although he was quite tall, an Edwin called "Pat," and one called Louis, whose nickname was "Boom," as well as two daughters, Evelyn, called "Putch," and Gertrude, who was known as "Tamp" or "Tampy."

In all this range of nicknames, in a population largely German, among whom the name Frederick was very popular, the nickname "Fritz" never took hold. The shortened form "Fred" was used. I had a cousin "Fred." His son was called not Junior or Fritz but "Freddie." There were a few "Fritzies," but they were different, "Fritzie" Nistler, for example, the best whistler in the county, or girls.

Fritz was allowed for an occasional stranger who might pass through town. But locally it was reserved largely, if not exclusively, as a name for horses. My father owned a horse called "Fritz." He said it was the "best and brightest" horse he ever owned.

McDOWELL

"But how about the treatment of the debates ... the emphasis on a few innocent bobbles by the president ... the sudden idea that Mondale is a passable candidate?" V.S.R. asked.

"The protesting Democrats contended that the Reagan of the first debate is the way Reagan is, and blamed the news media for not telling

the country years ago. And they say we let him off the hook in the second debate when he distracted us by making an ingratiating joke about his age," I said.

"And Mondale reborn as competent?"

"The Democrats say he has always been an effective advocate on substance, but the media wrecked him long ago by our childish preoccupation with his loser's image and the president's winning style."

"Do you think the Democrats are right in their whining about the media?" V.S.R. asked.

"Not generally," I said, "but they do have an argument."

"Ridiculous! I don't understand why you can't see the Democrats for what they are — partisans!" V.S.R. said, and gave me the righteous side for half an hour.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

CITY DESK

Lots of new reading material about Washington: You can order *City of Magnificent Intentions: A History of the District of Columbia and You in History* from Associates for Renewal in Education, Edmonds School, 9th & D NE, 20002. The former, a nearly 600-page, heavily illustrated history of the city, is the first new comprehensive history of the city in quite a few years. It costs \$18.95 plus \$4.05 postage and handling. *You in History* is designed to help young people understand the mystery of history through family research and

WHAT'S HAPPENING

Paper proposals for the 12th annual Historical Studies conference, to be held in February are now being solicited. Contact Howard Gillette, Center for Washington Area Studies, George Washington University, DC 20052 (676-6073).

RETIRED? UNEMPLOYED? Or otherwise have free time? How about volunteering one day a week (or a few hours) in animal rights office? We need you. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. (202) 726-0156.

The Council for Court Excellence, a private non-profit organization, bringing together individuals from the legal community, business and civic groups, government and the courts to strengthen the administration of justice in the District of Columbia, has developed a brochure entitled "When Someone Dies ... General Information for Heirs and Legatees in D.C."

Written in plain English, the brochure explains the rights and duties of persons who may inherit property when a relative dies.

Single copies will be mailed free of charge. There is a charge for multiple copy requests. Council for Court Excellence, 425 13th St. N.W. (507), DC 20004.

The 1985 edition of the D.C. League of Women Voters civic calendar is now available for \$3.00 each at the League office, Room 718, Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue N.W. Those wishing to have the calendar mailed should include \$1.20 for third class mail or \$1.45 for first class.

DC BOOKSHELF

JOHN WIEBENSON'S MAP OF WASHINGTON: Done in Wieb's wry and pointed style, this map was drawn for the Bicentennial and is now a collector's item. Available for 40% off at \$1.50.

WASHINGTON: Constance Green's Pulitzer Prize winning comprehensive history of Washington is now available in paperback for \$12.50. The basic book of DC history.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR WASHINGTON STUDIES AND DESCRIPTION OF MAJOR LOCAL COLLECTIONS: This is a revised and enlarged edition of an outstanding bibliography of Washington materials that has been out of print for several years. It has been compiled and annotated by Perry G. Fisher of the Columbia Historical Society and Linda J. Lear of George Washington University. There are nearly 350 entries in the new edition, as well as updated descriptions of the major local collections of Washingtoniana. \$6.

GLIMPSES OF GEORGETOWN: PAST AND PRESENT: Georgetown historian and photographer Mary Mitchell takes the reader on a tour of Georgetown. The camera's eye is selective and roving, looking at rooflines as well as patios. Backed by a thorough knowledge of local history, the author produces a vivid picture of how Georgetown's charm developed. ~~\$12.50~~ **\$9.95**

GEORGETOWN DAY SCHOOL'S READER'S GUIDE FOR PARENTS AND STUDENTS: Developed for GDS, this is a marvellous guide to good books from pre-school through eighth grade. Most of the books listed are available in paperback although some are out of print and available only at libraries. Every parent with young children can use this valuable guide. \$2.50

CAPTIVE CAPITAL

By Sam Smith

"CAPTIVE CAPITAL" tells the story of non-federal Washington, the city beyond the monuments. Published in 1974, on the eve of an elected government in DC, it tells of the city's struggle for independence and self-respect. Written by Gazette editor Sam Smith.

Originally sold for \$8.50, the book is now available for ~~\$6.84~~

PUBLIC STREET ILLUMINATION IN WASHINGTON DC: An illustrated history. Any Washington buff will enjoy this book that tells the fascinating story of these mundane objects. \$3.50

OLD WASHINGTON DC IN EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS: 1846-1932. This is a truly fine collection of over 200 prints that provide an enduring record of this city. \$7.95

#

SECRET CITY: Constance Green's history of black Washington. A highly readable trip through the city's black past. \$9.95.

FOOTNOTE WASHINGTON: Bryson Rash, who broadcast news and commentary here for more than 40 years, has compiled a collection of sidebar stories about Washington that you'll love to read and then buy more copies as gifts. Find out why the city has no J Street; where you can find a 130-year-old elevator still in operation, and which equestrian statue in the city underwent a sex change operation, plus much more. \$7.95

1983 FACTORY OUTLET GUIDE TO DC, Maryland, Virginia and Delaware. Over 500 smart ways to save money by Jean Bird. ~~\$3.95~~ **\$2.81**

THE FIRST WOMEN WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS. Tells the story of women who early broke the sex barrier to cover the capital city, beginning with Jane Grey Swisshelm who won a seat in the Senate Press Gallery in 1850 despite a warning from Vice President Fillmore that "the place would be very unpleasant for a lady." \$2.00

ANCIENT WASHINGTON: American Indian Cultures of the Potomac Valley. A rare and valuable anthropological look at the beginnings of Washington culture. \$3.00

LAW AND ORDER IN THE CAPITAL CITY: A History of the Washington Police 1800-1886. An interesting perspective on crime and police work of an earlier time. \$3.00

YESTERDAY'S WASHINGTON: A photographic history of our city that all lovers of DC will want to have. 20% off at \$7.95.

THIRTY-TWO PICTURE POST CARDS OF OLD WASHINGTON, DC. Ready to mail. Rare photos reproduced as post cards in sepia. A different way to stay in touch. \$2.75.

CAPTIVE CAPITAL: Sam Smith tells the story of non-federal Washington. "Not only well worth reading, but it is the best book we are likely to read on Washington," Bryce Nelson of the LA Times. "An excellent gift," Bill Raspberry in the Washington Post. "Must Reading," Afro-American. "A joy to read," Robert Cassidy in the Chicago Tribune.

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BOSS SHEPHERD AND THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS: The fascinating tale of DC's only true political boss and perhaps the most controversial figure in local history. \$3.

FOGGY BOTTOM 1800-1975. A Study in the Uses of an Urban Neighborhood. From the old neighborhood of Hamburg to the struggles over urban renewal and the Kennedy Center. \$4.00

GENTRIFICATION IN ADAMS MORGAN: Political and Commercial Consequences of Neighborhood Change. Going behind the cliches to actually what happens in gentrification, author Jeffrey Henig has presented an important addition to the study of this phenomenon. \$5:00

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the examination of buildings, photographs, primary documents and maps. It costs \$5.95 plus \$1 handling and postage. [Disclaimer: the latter was written by Kathryn Schneider Smith, who was also heavily involved in the creation of the former, and is the wife of your editor].

Paul Oehser has come out with a new edition of *The Smithsonian Institution* (Westview Press, \$25), which traces the Big S from its inceptions to its present course.

Barcat Skipper, Tales of a Tangier Island Waterman (Tidewater Publishers, \$11.95) is a collection of stories as recounted by a Tangier Island resident.

Guide to the Columbia Historical Society (CHS, 1307 New Hampshire Ave NW, \$1) is a 16-page description of the society's research collections written by CHS curator Elizabeth Miller.

Cleveland Park Voices (Available at John Eaton School, 34th & Lowell NW, \$8) was part of a program of neighborhood history patterned on the highly successful *Baltimore Voices*. This is a collection of reminiscences and comments about the neighborhood by residents ranging from 11 years old to 87.

A Hilltop in Foggy Bottom (Government Printing Office, \$3). Jan Herman tells the story of the old Naval Observatory, now the site of the Navy Medical Command.

Historical Perspectives on Urban Design: Washington DC 1890-1910 (Center for Washington Area Studies, GWU, DC 20052, \$4.) Conference proceedings with papers on the McMillan Plan and Daniel Burnham.

Evidence of Community: Writing from the Jenny McKean Moor Workshops (Center for Washington Area Studies, GWU, DC 20052, \$7. George Washington University's long-running writing workshops have produced some very publishable material gathered here in an anthology.

And last, but not least, Hanz Wirz and Richard Striner have done DC Deco proud with their *Washington Deco: Art Deco Design in the Nation's Capital*. This book, well illustrated, is a guide to art deco architecture in Washington from the Hecht's warehouse to the lobby of the Kennedy-Warren. \$19.95 from the Smithsonian Institution Press.

Jerry Moore received at least \$3600 from four opponents of the returnable bottling bill in his campaign. Last month, Moore voted to table the bill in committee. Moore got money from Pepsi-Cola Bottlers of Washington, DC; Mid-Atlantic Coca-Cola Bottling Company; the American Potomac Distributing Company; and Safeway Stores, Inc.

They don't give up easily. Despite the fiscal disaster of the Metrorail system, Metro general manager Carmen Tucker has bigger things in mind. She told the League of Women Voters last month that, "I think the 101-mile system is just the core of the system. We ought to think about going to Georgetown." Later, a representative of Metro said that Turner was "only feeling her Wheaties." If Metro were to dig to Georgetown it would cost a lot more than the convention center-a-mile cost of the current system. Georgetown is built on a bedrock base.

Drug use by District of Columbia government employees is less prevalent than in the city population as a whole, Mayor Marion Barry told a Senate panel yesterday. *** Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa., subcommittee chairman, referred to recent reports in The Washington Post that 32 school bus drivers in the DC school system had been fired after traces of drugs were discovered in urinalyses. "I would support spot checks of police and so would Chief Turner," Mayor Barry said, "but the unions have opposed it as an invasion of privacy." Mayor Barry told reporters after the hearing that he would be willing to submit to a urinalysis himself — *Washington Times*

The gargantuan Techworld scheme for the area between 7th & 9th Streets NW and I and K comes up before the Zoning Commission on November 26. This is a big one, which has already come under criticism from groups like the Planning and Housing Association.

Downtown Partners is described by the Washington Post as a "group of developers and landowners working with city officials to oversee the redevelopment of downtown." Where this prerogative comes under the home rule charter is not clear, but they're not being bashful about their mandate. Oliver Carr, who chairs this latest downtown backroom operation, says that the partnership has agreed to support a downtown historic district if the city will agree to consider recommendations for changing the boundaries later on. Said Carr: "The city agreed to be responsive if the partnership came back later requesting changes." Says Betty Ann Kane: "We are sitting here looking at a comprehensive plan for the city, including recommendations for the downtown. And to hear that there is a proposal for possibly making changes that would effect the downtown which is not being discussed above board, that raises concerns." Says Robert Peck, president of the DC Preservation League, "That totally defeats the idea of having a district."

Direct Mail on a Shoestring, the latest in a series of "NRAG Papers" from the Northern Rockies Action Group, "was written for the novice who hopes to explore the potential of direct mail to raise money for his or her small nonprofit organization," according to its introduction. The guide was designed specifically for groups with limited budgets and limited access to professional assistance.

The guide consists of "Five Principles to Ponder," which offer a framework for considering direct mail's potential for your organization and "a few hints" about direct mail technology; a lengthy exploration of "the nuts-and-bolts of direct mail, including tips on developing mailing lists and designing your appeal"; and a final section on how to design a program that will maximize your organization's direct mail fundraising potential. Throughout the guide are "Shoestring Tactics" that grassroots groups have used successfully.

Author Bruce Ballinger is a self-confessed member of "that rare breed who actually likes junk mail; those who have a perverse fascination with the details of the technology (like which color paper stock produces the highest return or which day of the week a mailing should arrive for the best response)."

Copies of the guide are available for \$7.50 each from NRAG, 9 Placer Street, Helena, Montana 59601. Discounts are available for orders of 10 copies or more, and all orders must be prepaid.

—Center for Community Change

The Progressive Review

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